CANADA'S HISTORY

INSIDE DE-NAMING BRITISH COLUMBIA

EST. 1920 AS THE BEAVER

GOLD RUSH RESISTANCE

AS PROSPECTORS FLOOD THE KLONDIKE, CHIEF ISAAC LEADS HIS PEOPLE TO SAFETY

+

THE RAINMAKER
SAVIOUR OR CON MAN?

RETRO PETS
FAMOUS CANADIAN CRITTERS

$7.99
08
PM40063001
DISPLAY UNTIL SEPT 27 2021
7 25274 70431 6

Iconic Stripes, Now in Grey

Last year, we celebrated our 350th birthday by releasing the new Sterling Edition of the Point Blanket. With stripes in gradient shades of grey, the Sterling Edition is a new family heirloom designed in neutral tones to complement your favourite room for years to come.

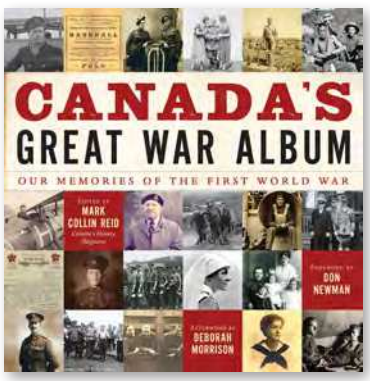
HUDSON'S BAY

Shop thebay.com

NEW EXCLUSIVE ITEMS IN STORE NOW!

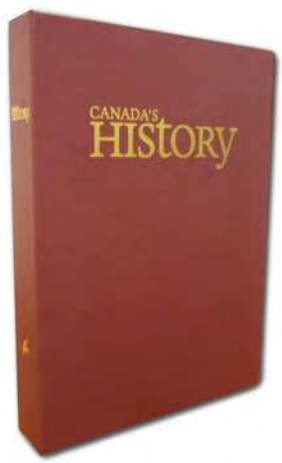
QUANTITIES ARE LIMITED ORDER TODAY!

REUSABLE 3D FACE MASK | SILVER EMBROIDERED BEAVER | HANDMADE FOR CANADA'S HISTORY



GREAT WAR ALBUM

"I LOVE CANADA" LINEN TEA TOWEL



MAGAZINE SLIPCASE

ORDER ONLINE AT **CANADASHISTORY.CA/STORE** OR PHONE **1-888-816-0997**

CANADA'S HISTORY

CONTENTS

FEATURES

20 Reconsidering the Gold Rush

When prospectors stampeded into the Klondike, Chief Isaac guided the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in people through a time of turmoil. *by Charlotte Gray*

28 The Rainmaker

With a mix of chemistry and bravado, a peddler of pluviculture convinced farmers in Alberta that he could coax water from the sky.
by Alan MacEachern

36 Creature Comforters

We salute some famous – and some not-so-famous – animals from Canada's past. *by Nancy Payne*

44 De-naming British Columbia

Canada's westernmost province owes its alias to a colonial power and a murderous American fur trader. It's time for a conversation about the name British Columbia.
by Ry Moran

SUBSCRIBE

Save 46% on the retail price*
CanadasHistory.ca/subscribe

*46% savings offer available on Canadian orders only

CONTRIBUTORS

Charlotte Gray, CM, wrote "Reconsidering the Gold Rush." She is the author of eleven non-fiction bestsellers of Canadian history and biography, including *Sisters in the Wilderness*, *The Promise of Canada*, and *Murdered Midas*. A former chair of Canada's National History Society and winner of the Pierre Berton Award, she recently won a Library and Archives Foundation Scholar Award. Gray lives in Ottawa and is an adjunct professor of history at Carleton University.

Alan MacEachern is the author of "The Rainmaker." He is a professor of history at Western University and, in 2020-21, the L.M. Montgomery Institute Visiting Scholar at the University of Prince Edward Island. He teaches and researches the environmental and climate history of Canada. McGill-Queen's University Press recently published his *The Miramichi Fire: A History* and will soon publish his and Edward MacDonald's *The Summer Trade: A History of Tourism on Prince Edward Island*.

11

60

44

74

DEPARTMENTS

10 **Letters** Fine fakes. Drawing conclusions. Inspired reading.

11 **Currents** Forever changed. Facing the past. Straightlaced fashion show. Royals at the rodeo. Lost opportunities. Quebec historian remembered. Searching for residential school victims.

19 **Trading Post** A brass mould was used to recycle lead into shot for firearms.

52 **Books** Excerpt from *The Diary of Dukesang Wong*. Reviews: Threshold experiences. Rebuilding societies. Happy medium. More books: Spree killer, oil icon, principled protestors, dangerous cargo.

60 **Destinations** A sacred Alberta landscape hosts ancient Indigenous rock art. At the museums: Prairie women, Niagara power station, letters to mother.

64 **Roots** What's with the public's fascination with celebrity genealogy?

65 **Annual Report** Celebrating the success of 2020–21. Plus our annual honour roll of donors.

74 **Album** People hold fishing nets at a shanty in Wiarton, Ontario.

Nancy Payne is the author of "Creature Comforters." Growing up on a farm in central Ontario, Payne had a succession of sickly barn cats as pets, mostly named Tiger or Rascal. She now has a perfectly healthy cat named Nellie after a certain complicated Canadian suffragist. Payne is a contributing editor to this magazine and the editor of *Kayak: Canada's History Magazine for Kids*, which is also published by Canada's National History Society.

Ry Moran, Red River Métis, wrote "De-naming British Columbia." Moran is the associate university librarian–reconciliation at the University of Victoria and was the founding director of the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation at the University of Manitoba. Prior to this, he served with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada as director of statement gathering and of the National Research Centre. He is deeply passionate about truth, reconciliation, and the integrity of the historical record.

Coming up in Canada's History

The Beaver Returns

We return to our roots with the first annual special supplement of *The Beaver*.

By donating your unused Aeroplan points to Canada's History, you help us fly award-winning teachers to our annual Governor General's Award ceremony in Ottawa.

Download the donation form at
CanadasHistory.ca/Aeroplan

AEROPLAN BEYOND MILES

CANADA'S HISTORY

CANADA'S HISTORY
CANADASHISTORY.CA

President & CEO Janet Walker

Editor-In-Chief, Director of Content & Communications
Mark Collin Reid

Art Director
James Gillespie

Senior Editor
Kate Jaimet

Associate Editor
Phil Koch

Contributing Editors
Christopher Moore
Nelle Oosterom
Nancy Payne

Publisher, Director of Business Enterprise
Melony Ward

Advertising Inquiries
ads@CanadasHistory.ca

Online Manager
Tanja Hütter

Graphic Designer
Andrew Workman

Designer
Matthew Schellenberg

Nobleman Scholar
Julia Richards

Director of Finance & Administration
Patricia Gerow

Circulation & Marketing Manager
Danielle Chartier

Executive Assistant
Kendra Rein

Manager of Fund Development
Olya Vrublevsky

Director of Programs
Joanna Dawson

Acting Director of Programs
Brooke Campbell

Education & Outreach Coordinator
Jean-Philippe Proulx

Program Coordinator
Kylie Nicolajsen

Circulation Consultants
Scott Bullock, Circ3 Solutions
P.J. Brown, Etatech Consulting

Canada's History magazine was founded by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1920 as *The Beaver: A Journal of Progress*. The HBC's commitment to the History Society and its programs continues today through the Hudson's Bay Company History Foundation. Canada's History Society was founded in 1994 to popularize Canadian history. The society's work includes: *Canada's History* magazine, *Kayak: Canada's History Magazine for Kids*, CanadasHistory.ca, and the Governor General's History Awards.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Sasha Mullally, *Chair*

Bill Caulfeild-Browne
Tim Cook
Magda Fahrni
Edward Kennedy
Michèle Leduc
Bruce MacLellan
Natasha Pashak
Carla Peck
Michael Rea, *Past Chair*
Stephen Thomas

Founding Publisher
Rolph Huband
1929-2016

President Emeritus
Joe Martin

NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

E. James Arnett
A. Charles Baillie
J. Douglas Barrington
W. John Bennett
Mark S. Bonham
Elsa Franklin
Charlotte Gray
John Honderich
Gillian Manning
Ry Moran
Don Newman
Richard W. Pound
H. Sanford Riley
Jane Urquhart
Greg Wong

SUBSCRIPTION SERVICES
Canada, $32.95 (GST included)
Add $10 a year for U.S. orders
Add $18 for foreign orders

Phone: 1.888.816.0997
memberservices@CanadasHistory.ca
CanadasHistory.ca/subscribe
PO Box 699
Alliston, ON L9R 1V9

ISSN 1920-9894

ADVERTISING INQUIRIES
ads@CanadasHistory.ca

EDITORIAL ADDRESS
Bryce Hall Main Floor
515 Portage Avenue
Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9
Phone: 1.888.816.0997
Fax: 204.988.9309
info@CanadasHistory.ca

© 2021 Canada's History Society.
All rights reserved.

GST # 13868 1408 RT 0001

PRIVACY PREFERENCE
Occasionally, we provide our subscriber list to external organizations that have products or services of interest to our readers. If you do not wish to receive such communications, please contact Member Services memberservices@CanadasHistory.ca

Postmaster – Return undeliverable Canadian addresses to: Canada's History PO Box 699 Alliston, ON L9R 1V9

Postage paid in Winnipeg.
Publications Mail Agreement No. 40063001

Printed in Canada.

Funded by the Government of Canada
Financé par le gouvernement du Canada
Canada

MIX
Paper from responsible sources
FSC® C011825

ALL ABOARD WITH CANADA'S HISTORY AND RAIL TRAVEL TOURS

NO RISK BOOKINGS! JUST $100 PER PERSON DEPOSITS THAT WILL BE REFUNDED IF YOUR TOUR IS CANCELLED DUE TO COVID-19

Superior Colours & Heritage of Northern Ontario Tour

Book early on this tour to enjoy Northern Ontario's heritage and scenery

Sunday October 3 to Thursday October 7, 2021

BOOK NOW SPACE IS LIMITED

This always popular 5-day, 4-night, fall colours tour runs from Toronto to Sudbury, Ontario on VIA Rail's dome car *The Canadian* for some great fall foliage viewing through the Muskoka region. This package features all daylight travel with hotel stays each night, plus 2 full travel days to see some pristine parts of the Canadian Shield on VIA Rail's *Sudbury to White River* remote rail service or Rail Diesel Car (like a large bus on the rails, and the last of its kind in Ontario!). Also includes visits to Dynamic Earth for presentations about the heritage and topography of the region, Northern Ontario Railway Museum, and White River Museum to enjoy "A Bear named Winnie" presentation, where this now famous bear cub was first adopted. The final day will be spent travelling from Sudbury by motor coach, providing the opportunity to experience some heritage attractions before returning to downtown Toronto. Package also includes most meals and additional heritage presentations, tour director, detailed tour info kit and more.

Price $ 1,195.00 CDN + HST (Per person Double Occupancy. Single supplement $500.00)
FINAL PAYMENT DEADLINE AUGUST 16, 2021

Heritage of Halifax & the 110th Anniversary of the loss of the RMS Titanic

Book early to receive a copy of *The Ocean Limited*, the story of Canada's oldest named train

Wednesday April 13 to Monday April 18, 2022

Roundtrip from Toronto or Ottawa, experience scenic rail journeys through Canada's Atlantic region on the 110th anniversary of the loss of the *Titanic* and explore its links to Halifax. This 6-day, 5-night tour features roundtrip rail trips from Montreal/Halifax and sleeping car accommodations on VIA Rail's *The Ocean*, including meals in the diner car and views from the dome car. Enjoy a 3-night stay in Halifax visiting attractions such as the Maritime Museum of the Atlantic, Halifax Citadel, Naval Museum of Halifax, talks on-site of both the Halifax Explosion and Fairview Lawn Cemetery with author Blair Beed, St Patrick's Church, plus other experiences. Package also includes Pier 21 visit, the Alexander Keith Heritage brewery tour, some seafood meals, transfers, tour director, tour info kit and more.

Train Cabin(s) - $2,595.00 (Per Person Double Occupancy)
Single supplement add $600.00. FINAL PAYMENT DEADLINE FEBRUARY 24, 2022

Across Canada & Mountains in the Fall

Featuring two of the most scenic rail journeys in Canada

Wednesday September 28 to Tuesday October 11, 2022

NEW TOUR

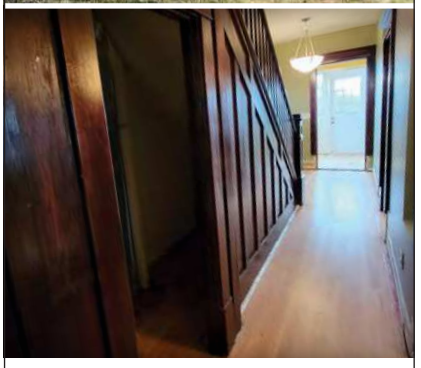
Roundtrip from Toronto to Northern BC's Pacific Coast, this comprehensive tour features two of VIA Rail's most iconic trains! This 14-day,13-night package allows you to experience the heritage, size and scenery of the country including the Canadian Shield, Prairies, Rocky and Coastal Mountains. Travel on the *Canadian* to enjoy the domed observation areas, lounges and meals, prepared by VIA's chefs, in the dining car, plus sleeping car accommodations. Then travel the *Jasper–Prince Rupert* all daylight train in the Panorama Dome enjoying the views of both the Rocky and Coastal Mountains, Bulkley Canyon, Fraser and Skeena Rivers, quadruple Kitselas Tunnels and more. Includes a 3-night hotel stay in Jasper, plus 2 nights each in Prince George & Prince Rupert, visits to Maligne Lake Boat Tour, Columbia Icefields day trip, North Pacific Cannery Historic Site, Cow's Bay shopping district, Museum of Northern BC, Winnipeg Railway Museum, and additional exclusive heritage experiences.

Train Section/Berth(s) - $5,995.00 - Train Cabin(s) - $7,595.00 (Per Person Double Occupancy)
Single supplement add $800.00. FINAL PAYMENT DEADLINE AUGUST 12, 2022

CANADA'S HISTORY

Suggested pre- and post-tour nights at hotels usually located close to the train stations can be booked for you depending on availability. Prices shown do not include applicable taxes.

More details on the above at CanadasHistory.ca/travel. To book your space or for more details call RAIL TRAVEL TOURS toll free at 1-866-704-3528



ORIGINAL 1917
EATON'S CATALOGUE
HOUSE FOR SALE
READY TO MOVE!

A walk back in time. This 1917–built Eaton's house has original mouldings, lights, floors, solid wood staircases, stained glass windows, and doors with knobs. Drywall, plumbing, and electrical are updated. Cedar exterior. Wrap-around deck, two verandas, and three levels of living space.

Eaton's houses were designed to be elegant and very practical, with well-thought-out floor plans, ornate detailing, and lots of natural light. This beautiful historic house would make a fantastic family dwelling or retirement home for someone who sees the value to fully restore and complete it. Currently located in Saskatchewan, the house has steel beams installed, and is ready to be moved at the buyer's expense.

For more info, contact Shelly at (306) 628-7706.

Indigenous leaders take part in an Orange Shirt Day march in Vancouver in 2019.

BEN NELMS/CBC

Re-examining the past

The discovery this spring of the remains of 215 First Nations children at a Kamloops, B.C., residential school was a jarring reminder of just how little most non-Indigenous Canadians know about the history of not only residential schools but also Indigenous peoples in this country.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) has identified at least 4,100 students who died of disease or accident while attending residential schools between the nineteenth century and the mid-1990s, when the final school was shuttered. However, the known number of deceased children will likely rise as other residential school sites are searched for remains.

"I have been inundated with calls from Survivors — hundreds of calls, often just to cry," said Murray Sinclair, the former chair of the TRC, in the wake of the tragic discovery. "I can hear not only the pain and the anguish but also the anger that no one believed the stories they had told."

The TRC's report on residential schools and its ninety-four calls to action have highlighted the crucial importance of re-examining Canada's past with regard to its treatment of Indigenous peoples.

In this issue, we feature two articles that shine new light on major milestones in the Canadian national narrative: the 125th anniversary of the Klondike gold rush and the 150th anniversary of the entrance of British Columbia into Confederation.

"Reconsidering the Gold Rush," by Charlotte Gray, explores the human impacts and the environmental toll of the Klondike gold rush on the First Nations of Yukon, and was written in consultation with members of the local Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in community. Meanwhile, "De-naming British Columbia," an essay by Métis writer Ry Moran, reveals the disturbing history behind that province's name and argues that it should be changed to something more inclusive as an act of reconciliation with Indigenous peoples.

Re-examining the past is not easy. It creates uncomfortable feelings and reveals difficult truths. But. as a parent, all I can think about right now is how devastating it must have been for Indigenous parents to have their children taken away — and, in thousands of instances, for those children never to come home. The thought of children dying while in the custody of strangers, and of parents being denied the right to repatriate their bodies, is gut-wrenching.

There will be more heartbreak to come as we continue the journey towards reconciliation. By re-examining Canada's history, and listening to the voices of Indigenous peoples, we work to ensure that future generations avoid repeating the mistakes and tragedies of the past.

Mark Reid

Join the 2021 Editor's Circle

and help us publish a special supplementary edition of *The Beaver*!

Contribute $500 to $10,000 – or more! – before August 10, 2021
to be recognized in our upcoming commemorative issue of *The Beaver*

Support a second century of publishing

Take your passion for history to a new level and join the 2021 Editor's Circle today

Visit CanadasHistory.ca/EditorsCircle, or contact Olya Vrublevsky
by email at ovrublevsky@canadashistory.ca or by phone at 1-844-852-7377

SIGN UP FOR A
CANADA'S HISTORY NEWSLETTER TODAY!

Discover exclusive content, including videos and podcasts. Get monthly book updates featuring recent titles, author interviews and more, plus news about Canada's History Society and other special offers.

Teaching newsletters offer resources for various grade levels.

Newsletters available in French and English.

CanadasHistory.ca/Newsletters

CANADA'S HISTORY

You're invited!

Join us as we celebrate **100** years
as your community foundation.
For Good. Forever.

Visit wpgfdn.org/100 for more on our centennial celebrations.

"Because Winnipeg has been my home and has done more for me than it may ever be in my power to repay. I owe everything to this community." - 1921

William Forbes Alloway, founder,
The Winnipeg Foundation

THE WINNIPEG FOUNDATION 100
Canada's first community foundation
For Good. Forever.

wpgfdn.org/100 | @wpgfdn

Fine Fakes

Canada's History magazine, June-July 2021 issue.

I read Jon Dellandrea's article ("Ingenious Imitations," June-July 2021) with delight. I have a Krieghoff painting — maybe. It was owned by my cousin David Ritchie who owned Ritchie's Art Gallery in Toronto. He was unable to authenticate it before he died. I regret that I have no idea where he obtained it.

According to the notes that came with it, it was painted at the correct time and depicts a subject Krieghoff was known to have painted. Of course, it is signed. In fact, it came with a number of hopeful signs but no authentication by a specialist.

My friends who know of it have suggested that I proceed with finding out if it is a real Krieghoff. I don't much care. I like the story and was advised when I inherited it that Krieghoff was one of the most copied (faked) artists in Canadian history.

I suppose, if it is real, it is my most expensive painting. I have no idea what a fake might be worth. I tend to agree with art forger David Henty. If some artist is good enough to paint a copy that takes a very good expert to tell if it is a fake, then why is the original worth millions and the copy little?

Ian McKee
via email

Drawing conclusions

It wasn't until I read Terry Mosher's article on Duncan Macpherson ("Drawing the Line," June-July 2021) that I realized I have measured every political cartoon by the yardstick of his work!

It is rare that I see a cartoon that makes the point so seemingly effortlessly and memorably as his cartoons did. Even though I am not noted for being up on current events, I understood and appreciated those black-and-white drawings. I was lucky enough to grow up in the era of Duncan Macpherson, who made it all look so easy and so obvious.

Nancy Cunningham
via email

Inspired reading

Canada's History always has something within it to look forward to, such as Nancy Payne's article on the Old Hay Bay Church in Adolphustown Township in Ontario (Destinations, April-May 2021). The church and its surroundings are familiar to me because I spent my first years as a boy in the lush farmlands and small towns and villages of the county, one of the loveliest parts of southern Ontario.

As well, one of those subscribing to the building of this Methodist church in 1792 was my maternal ancestor, Captain Peter Ruttan (1742–1829), who served with the Fourth Battalion, New Jersey Volunteers — one of the Loyalist regiments raised in the American Revolutionary War. Ruttan and his family escaped from New York City on the sailing ship *Hope* in 1783 and made their way with other refugees to the then Province of Quebec and ultimately to their new home in Adolphustown in 1784.

Payne's article inspired me to think about a visit to the church, which I have seen only from the outside. So, when the pandemic relaxes its grip, I will head east and sit in the wooden pews, close my eyes, and imagine Captain Peter worshipping there.

Robb Watt,
North Vancouver, B.C.

Rival opinions

It is long past due for *Canada's History* magazine to be honest about the owners of this land from whom we stole their riches. In my April-May 2021 issue, the article "Making it Count" by Christopher Moore was enjoyable — after I got through his first few paragraphs on pages 45 and 46. There, the author states that one of Jean Talon's most important tasks was to raise a military force to "set out to confront the colony's great rival, the powerful Haudenosaunee Confederacy."

I know that many Canadians do not believe in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, nor in its report, but you? To call the Haudenosaunee a rival is false, "fake news," and untrue historically. We stole their land, water, forests, culture and religion, their very lives. The First Nations peoples of this country are not the rival nor the enemy; we white Europeans are the thieves, intruders, the rivals.

J. Neysmith
Hamilton

Christopher Moore responds: Regular readers of Canada's History *will have seen my arguments for the need to lay building blocks for reconciliation with First Nations (for example, "Finding Reconciliation," December 2020-January 2021). Canadians should honour the richness, wisdom, and power of the Haudenosaunee and other First Nations, both in 2021 and in 1666, as well as acknowledge the wrongs inflicted on them. In 1666, the Haudenosaunee nation had a much larger population than the colony of New France. Its agriculture and trade were more extensive than New France's. In wartime it could field larger fighting forces and could project its power across most of eastern North America to defend Haudenosaunee land, water, forests, culture, and religion. The Haudenosaunee truly were rivals to be respected and sometimes feared.*

Email comments to editors@CanadasHistory.ca or write to *Canada's History*, Bryce Hall Main Floor, 515 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9 Canada.

Forever changed

A 'bomb girl' and a battlefield hero are among the people honoured in a Canadian War Museum exhibition.

by Sydney Lockhart

The Canadian War Museum's *Forever Changed* exhibition tells the stories of six Canadians who served overseas and on the home front during the Second World War.

"I think it's important for Canadians to understand the incredible service and sacrifice of that generation, where 1.1 million Canadians served in uniform – and that's from a country of eleven million people," said exhibition curator Tim Cook, a historian at the Ottawa-based national museum.

Curated over two years, the exhibition opened on December 4, 2020, and marks the seventy-fifth anniversary of the end of the war. It includes stories from fifty Canadians who were chosen from among hundreds for whom documents were submitted.

Six people are highlighted: Edith Vollrath, a munitions factory worker known as a "bomb girl"; Able Seaman George Boyer of the Royal Canadian Navy; combat cameraman Hugh McCaughey; battlefield hero Major Alex Campbell; Nursing Sister Winnie Burwash; and Flying Officer Will Kyle of the Royal Canadian Air Force. Witness accounts and artifacts have been added to biographical information to tell impactful stories.

"Reading their letters and their diaries, and presenting those observations to the visitor, is a very powerful experience," Cook said.

The *Forever Changed* exhibition at the Canadian War Museum in Ottawa continues until January 2, 2022.

The 650-square-metre exhibition is organized in four parts: The War Against Japan, A Country Shaped by War, Supporting and Defending, and The War Against Germany. It contains 175 artifacts, such as diaries and bibles belonging to Canadians at war; weapons, including the only surviving Canadian "Land Mattress" rocket launcher; and a ceramic ear that once hung on a wall reminding soldiers not to tell secrets because the enemy could be listening at any moment. The origin of the ear is unknown, but a message on the object's reverse side reads, "Walls have ears!"

"With an exhibition, you've got objects, you've got works of art, you've got reconstructed spaces, you've got games, you've got powerful images. It's all of the components coming together," Cook said.

The exhibition continues until January 2, 2022. For more information visit WarMuseum.ca/ForeverChanged.

The skull of a Franklin expedition crew member, left, discovered in 1859, was used by forensic artist Diana Trepkov to create a likeness of John Gregory, right, the first crew member to be identified via DNA testing.

TOP: CANADIAN WAR MUSEUM. BOTTOM: COURTESY DIANA P. TREPKOV

Facing the past

Canadian researchers have positively identified a crew member of the doomed 1845 Franklin expedition. DNA testing of skeletal remains that were first discovered in 1859, combined with genealogical analyses, revealed the crewman to be Warrant Officer John Gregory of HMS *Erebus*. The ship, along with the HMS *Terror*, departed Britain 176 years ago in a failed search for a northwest passage through the Canadian Arctic. All hands were lost, with some crew members languishing up to three years in ships trapped in sea ice before perishing. The research team that identified Gregory included members from the University of Waterloo, Lakehead University, and Trent University. Gregory is the first Franklin expedition member to be positively identified via DNA testing.

A Hudson's Bay Company catalogue published in 1910 depicts a selection of popular lingerie designs.

FROM THE ARCHIVES

Straightlaced or straight-up lacy?

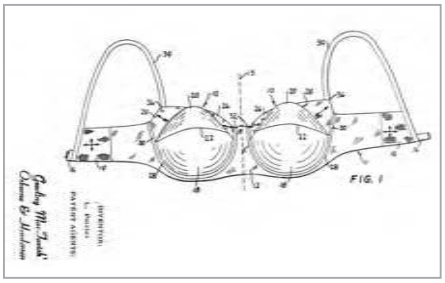
In 1920s Winnipeg, a groundbreaking fashion show introduces shoppers to the latest trends in lingerie style. *by Kate Jaimet*

In the spring of 1926, the women of the Hudson's Bay Company embraced the spirit of the Roaring Twenties by mounting Winnipeg's first-ever undergarment fashion show.

As tastefully reported in the June 1926 issue of *The Beaver*, the "corset and lingerie display" featured ten live mannequins – all members of the HBC staff – modelling "corsets, corselettes, compacts, complete wrap-arounds, step-ins, laced models, as well as a complete range of brassieres and suitable lingerie for various and all occasions."

The event promoted the importance of well-tailored underwear, for, as *The Beaver* journalist noted, "the most beautifully designed gown in the world may be ruined from an optical standpoint by an ill-fitting undergarment." The categories of the program resembled a pre-feminist chronicle of well-to-do women's lives: "Junior Miss, Girl Graduate, Debutante, Bride, Matron, and Stylish Stout."

Presiding over the event, Mrs. Sperry, the manager of the lingerie department and "one of the best-known lingerie specialty women in Western Canada … described [each] garment in a very interesting and enlightening manner." Previous issues of *The Beaver* show that Sperry was a woman devoted to her calling. In the summer of 1924 she spent several weeks "in the east buying the latest corsets and brassieres for her department." In December 1925 she was "placed in charge of the ladies' underwear departments of Winnipeg and Saskatoon," where she "spent considerable time in reorganization." At the time of Sperry's reign over the HBC lingerie department, corsets were constructed with whalebone stays. But undergarment design changed radically over the ensuing decades.



The drawing for Louise Poirier's brassiere design, patent number 877604.

By the 1960s, brassiere designers were experimenting with different patterns and materials. In 1971, Louise Poirier, a designer working for the Montreal company WonderBra, patented the design that came to exemplify the brand. The documentation for patent number 877604 – which marks its fiftieth anniversary this year – describes it as "a brassiere which is provided with a non-stretch cup and elastic portions adjacent the cup, so that the cup can angle forward depending upon the size and the posture of the wearer, thus achieving comfort and a flattering shape at all times."

The Canada's History Archive featuring *The Beaver*, *Canada's History,* and *Kayak* was made possible with the generous support of the Hudson's Bay Company History Foundation. Please visit **CanadasHistory.ca/Archive** to read a century's worth of stories.

TOP: HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY CATALOGUE 1910-11. BOTTOM: PUBLIC DOMAIN

Top: Captain Steven Dieter (retired) of Ottawa receives a quilt created in 2020 as part of the Quilts of Valour program. Dieter's quilt was sewn by Doris Desjardins of Brockville, Ontario, and her daughter Brigid Witnall of Ottawa. Above: A selection of quilts sewn by Quilts of Valour volunteers.

Quilts of Valour

A national group of volunteer quilters is using sewing skills to honour wounded and injured veterans and Armed Forces members across Canada.

The Quilts of Valour Canada Society creates homemade quilts and gives them to current and former military personnel to honour their service to the country.

It all began in Edmonton in 2006 with the gift of three homemade quilts to injured and wounded Canadian Armed Forces members by local quilter Lezley Zwaal.

This act of kindness inspired the national volunteer movement, and in 2009 the society was founded as a registered charity.

To date, the Quilts of Valour society has presented more than sixteen thousand quilts, "each one a handmade hug, stitched with love and gratitude by grateful Canadians," said society president Linda Gerein.

To learn more about the Quilts of Valour Canada Society, visit QuiltsofValour.ca.

TOP LEFT: QUILTSOFVALOUR.CA. TOP RIGHT: PUBLIC DOMAIN

BY THE NUMBERS

Drive-Ins in Canada

In 1946, the Skyway Theatre, Canada's first drive-in cinema, opened at Stoney Creek, Ontario, east of Hamilton. The Skyway had speaker poles that played the soundtrack of movies at each parking spot, because not all cars had built-in radios at the time. Drive-in theatres reached their zenith during the 1940s and 1950s and then slowly declined in popularity as indoor movie theatre technology advanced. Despite this, drive-in theatres are still found across the country and make for a nostalgic night out for many Canadians.

557

Number of drive-in theatres in Ontario. About half of Canada's remaining drive-ins are located in the province.

16

Area in square metres of the screen at Starlight Drive-In Theatre in Sherwood Park, Alberta. Bigger than an NBA court, it stands as the largest drive-in movie screen in the country.

1.6

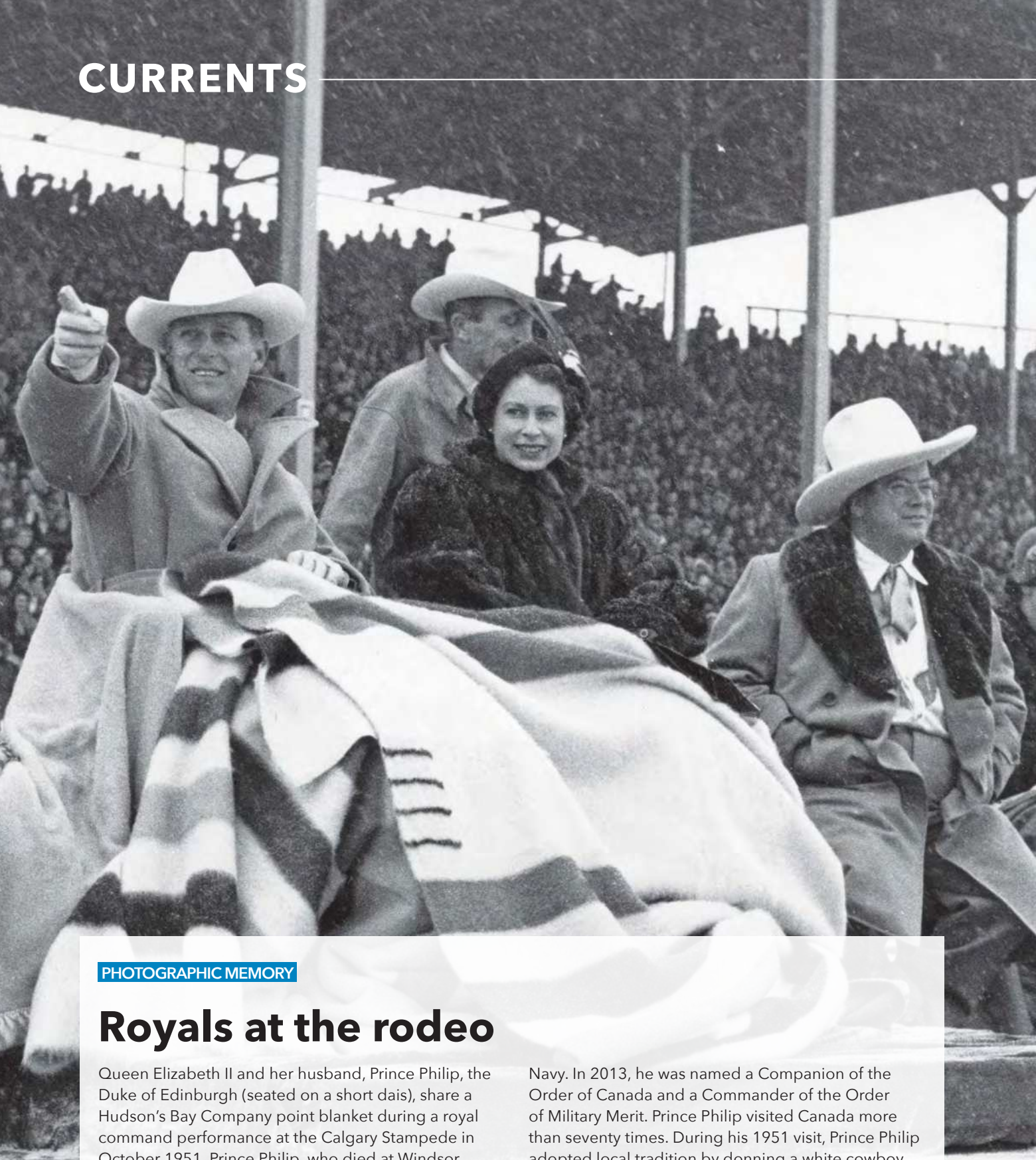
Number of screens at the Drive-In Saint-Eustache in Quebec, making it the biggest drive-in theatre space in Canada.

5

Maximum height in metres of vehicles permitted in the main parking section of the Valley Drive-In Theatre in Nova Scotia. Taller vehicles must park in a back section to ensure that all patrons can see the screen.

436

Car capacity of the Twilight Drive-In Theatre, Metro Vancouver's only drive-in movie cinema.

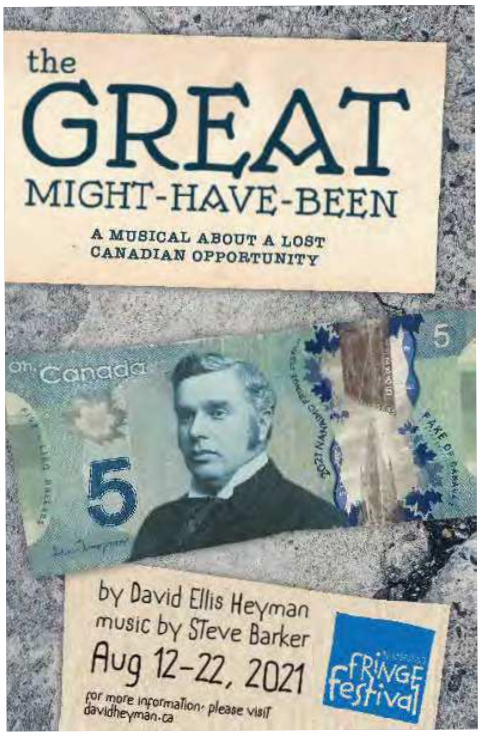


PHOTOGRAPHIC MEMORY

Royals at the rodeo

Queen Elizabeth II and her husband, Prince Philip, the Duke of Edinburgh (seated on a short dais), share a Hudson's Bay Company point blanket during a royal command performance at the Calgary Stampede in October 1951. Prince Philip, who died at Windsor Castle on April 9, 2021, at the age of ninety-nine, held the title of colonel-in-chief of six units of the Canadian Armed Forces. In 2011, he was named honorary general of the Canadian Army and the Royal Canadian Air Force and honorary admiral of the Royal Canadian Navy. In 2013, he was named a Companion of the Order of Canada and a Commander of the Order of Military Merit. Prince Philip visited Canada more than seventy times. During his 1951 visit, Prince Philip adopted local tradition by donning a white cowboy hat at the Calgary Stampede. On his final visit, a solo trip to Toronto in 2013, he presented a new ceremonial flag to the Royal Canadian Regiment's Third Battalion, having served as the regiment's colonel-in-chief since 1953. – *M.C. Reid*

GETTY-141821580



Clockwise from far left: A poster for the musical *The Great Might-Have-Been* features a mock five-dollar bill bearing the image of Sir John Thompson, Canada's fourth prime minister. Annie Thompson, the wife of Prime Minister Thompson. Sir John Abbott, Thompson's predecessor as prime minister. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Canada's seventh prime minister. Ishbel Marie Marjoribanks Hamilton-Gordon, Lady Aberdeen, a staunch women's rights advocate and the wife of Governor General John Campbell Hamilton-Gordon.

Of first ministers and lost chances

New musical explores the what-ifs that surround the life of Canada's fourth prime minister. *by M.C. Reid*

Some say he could have become one of Canada's best prime ministers. Sadly, the life of Sir John Thompson was cut short – he died of a heart attack at Windsor Castle in England, in the presence of Queen Victoria, no less.

Now the Nova Scotian politician's story is being set to song in a new musical scripted by a former newspaper journalist. Titled *The Great Might-Have-Been: A Musical about a Lost Canadian Opportunity*, it was written by David Ellis Heyman with music by Steve Barker.

The lost opportunity mentioned in the title relates to the plan by Thompson, Canada's fourth prime minister, to grant Canadian women the vote in the 1890s – more than two decades before women's suffrage actually came into effect. Heyman, who lives in Victoria, said the idea for the musical came from a friend of his wife. She "knew I was a history buff," Heyman said, "and asked me if I had a story for a Canadian version of *Hamilton*," the popular Broadway musical about American founding father Alexander Hamilton. "I immediately thought of Sir John Thompson and his all-too-short term as prime minister from 1892 to 1894."

Thompson served as premier of Nova Scotia in 1882 before being elected to the House of Commons, where he served as minister of justice in Sir John A. Macdonald's Conservative government.

Thompson held progressive views on women's suffrage and, upon taking office as prime minister, found a common purpose with Ishbel Marie Marjoribanks Hamilton-Gordon, Lady Aberdeen, the wife of Governor General John Campbell Hamilton-Gordon. Lady Aberdeen was an advocate of women's suffrage and urged Thompson to grant women the right to vote. The prime minister was poised to bring a women's suffrage bill to Parliament but died before it could be introduced.

"As it was," Heyman said, "the vote was half-heartedly introduced by Thompson's successor, Mackenzie Bowell, and was soundly voted down, in no small part due to an anti-suffrage speech by Liberal leader Sir Wilfrid Laurier."

The musical's cast of characters includes Thompson, Lady Aberdeen, Laurier, Sir John Abbott (Thompson's predecessor as prime minister), and Thompson's wife, Annie. It will debut at the Nanaimo Fringe Festival in Nanaimo, B.C., and will run from August 12 to 22. Actress Shauna Solomon, the friend who inspired the musical, will play Lady Aberdeen.

Heyman, a former newspaper reporter, said Thompson's life is an intriguing what-if story. "Many feel that, if he'd served his full term, he might well have ranked with our greatest prime ministers and might even have supplanted Sir Wilfrid Laurier as our first great twentieth-century leader."

LEFT: COURTESY DAVID HEYMAN. TOP CENTRE ALAY. ALL OTHER PHOTOS PUBLIC DOMAIN

Left: Members of the Spark Your Pride 2019 committee sit in an antique car at the Western Development Museum in Saskatoon. Above: A flag bearing a rainbow and the acronym PFLAG is among the more than one hundred artifacts related to the LGBTQ2S+ community that have been donated to the museum.

Recognizing LGBTQ2S+ histories

Spark Your Pride and the Western Development Museum bring communities together to share life stories and to evoke pride. *by Sydney Lockhart*

Growing up in the 1950s and 1960s, Mike McCoy feared being arrested and sent to jail because homosexual acts were illegal in Canada. Even now, he says, many of his peers still struggle to tell their stories after having been treated like criminals early in life.

"For folks even older than me, they could lose their jobs, their families," said sixty-nine-year-old McCoy. "It had a huge impact, even today, on people's sense of self-worth."

People who are lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, or two-spirited, or who express their gender or sexuality in other ways outside of society's mainstream (LGBTQ2S+) have rarely seen their lives represented in museums. To make up for this gap, the annual Spark Your Pride Saskatoon event was created through a partnership with the Spark Your Pride board and Saskatchewan's Western Development Museum (WDM). The objective is to allow older LGBTQ2S+ individuals, among others, to feel safe about sharing their experiences and building a repository of community history.

With guest speakers, group activities, and community meals, the Spark Your Pride event takes place in Saskatoon during pride week every June. The event encourages gathering, sharing, and acknowledging personal histories of the LGBTQ2S+ community. "Most of the time our stories were silenced, or we didn't feel safe in telling those stories," said McCoy, a Spark Your Pride board member and the group's former co-chair. "The hope is to bring in more voices and, through the chance itself, just raise the awareness of the value of queer history and collecting queer history."

While the inaugural event in Saskatoon in 2019 was held in-person, the 2020 event was held online due to the COVID-19 pandemic, allowing people from across Canada and the United States to join the activities.

Increasing representation of LGBTQ2S+ communities – as well as other underrepresented communities, such as Indigenous peoples and Chinese Canadians – is a priority for the WDM said the museum's CEO, Joan Kanigan.

In 2018, the WDM launched its permanent Saskatchewan LGBTQ2S+ History Collection. Since then, the museum, which has locations in Saskatoon and three other Saskatchewan cities, has received and catalogued more than one hundred objects directly relating to LGBTQ2S+ histories within the province. The museum plans to continue to grow the collection. It contains objects such as a crown worn by Saskatchewan's top drag artist, Crystal Clear, who performed in the 1990s before drag became mainstream, and a rainbow flag bearing the letters PFLAG from the Saskatoon Chapter of PFLAG, an organization that helps parents understand their LGBTQ2S+ children.

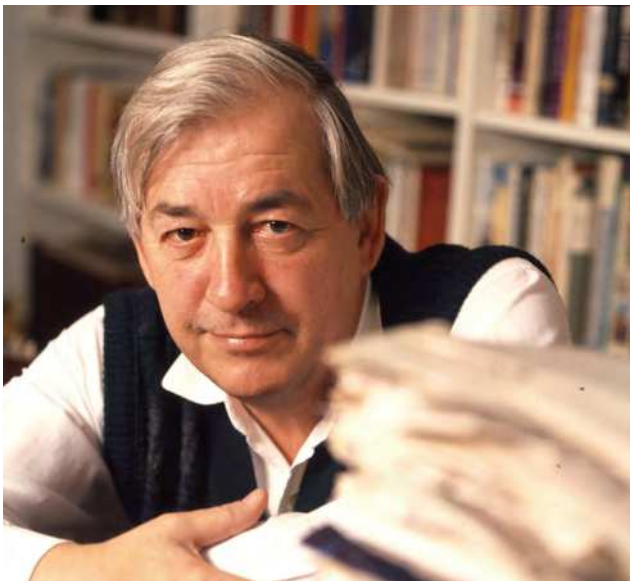
"Museums exist to serve their communities, and everybody within our communities needs to see themselves reflected within our spaces," Kanigan said.

"So becoming more inclusive and diverse has been a priority for the WDM."

PHOTOS COURTESY SPARK YOUR PRIDE AND THE WESTERN DEVELOPMENT MUSEUM

Remembering Jacques Lacoursière

Renowned Quebec historian was a member of Canada's History's board of directors and co-editor of 'Québec a 400 ans,' the first-ever bilingual edition of The Beaver.



Above: Historian Jacques Lacoursière. Left: English and French versions of a special issue of *The Beaver* that commemorated Quebec's four hundredth anniversary in 2008.

Canada's History Society was saddened to learn of the passing this spring of Quebec historian Jacques Lacoursière at the age of eighty-nine. A respected author of more than a dozen non-fiction history books and published papers, Lacoursière also had a successful career as a radio and television broadcaster. He was especially famed for his ability to popularize history and to make it accessible to all citizens.

Born on May 4, 1932, in Shawinigan, Quebec, Lacoursière grew up in a large family. In his youth he expressed an interest in joining the priesthood.

In the 1950s, he attended university and was at first drawn to the study of literature. However, one of his professors, Denis Vaugeois, sparked in him an interest in history. In 1957, Lacoursière married Monique Dubois in Trois-Rivières, Quebec.

After a period in Quebec's civil service in the 1960s, Lacoursière began a new career as a writer, editor, and publisher. He worked at the historical review *Nos Racines* and launched, with Vaugeois as a partner, *Le Boréal Express*. He also wrote the five-volume *Histoire populaire du Québec*.

The 1970s saw Lacoursière embrace broadcasting as a medium for sharing history with a wide audience. He was a key researcher on a Radio-Canada series about Quebec Premier Maurice Duplessis and also acted as the host of the television series *Épopée en Amérique*.

Lacoursière joined the board of Canada's History in 2007. In 2008, he co-edited "Quebec at 400/ Québec a 400 ans," the first-ever bilingual issue of *The Beaver*. The special edition, produced for the quatercentenary of the founding of Quebec, was a tremendous success both in that province and across the country.

"Jacques Lacoursière was a tremendous storyteller," said Mark Collin Reid, editor-in-chief of *Canada's History* and the co-editor of "Quebec at 400." "He had a special talent for making Quebec's history interesting, engaging, and relevant to all Quebecers and Canadians."

The recipient of numerous awards and honours, Lacoursière was inducted into France's Légion d'honneur, was a member of the Order of Canada, and was named a Knight of the National Order of Quebec. He was also the first francophone recipient of the Governor General's History Award for Popular Media: The Pierre Berton Award.

The former Kamloops Indian Residential School in Kamloops, B.C.

Searching for the victims

The federal government has pledged $27 million for communities to search for the remains of Indigenous children who died while attending residential schools and who were buried in unmarked graves. The funding announcement came in the wake of national outrage over the discovery this spring of the remains of 215 Indigenous children at a former Kamloops residential school. The funding will be administered by the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation (NCTR). For more information contact the NCTR by phone at 1-855-415-4534 or by email at nctr@umanitoba.ca.

TOP RIGHT: LOUISE BILODEAU; BOTTOM: ALAMY

CANADIAN HISTORY AS YOU'VE NEVER EXPERIENCED IT BEFORE

Alive, immediate, relevant, and fascinating

DISCOVER EXPLORERS, HEROES, VILLAINS, VISIONARIES, LEADERS, important historical events, and fascinating people. Meet Canada's history as it lives and breathes in every issue of *Canada's History* magazine and *Kayak: Canada's History Magazine for Kids*.

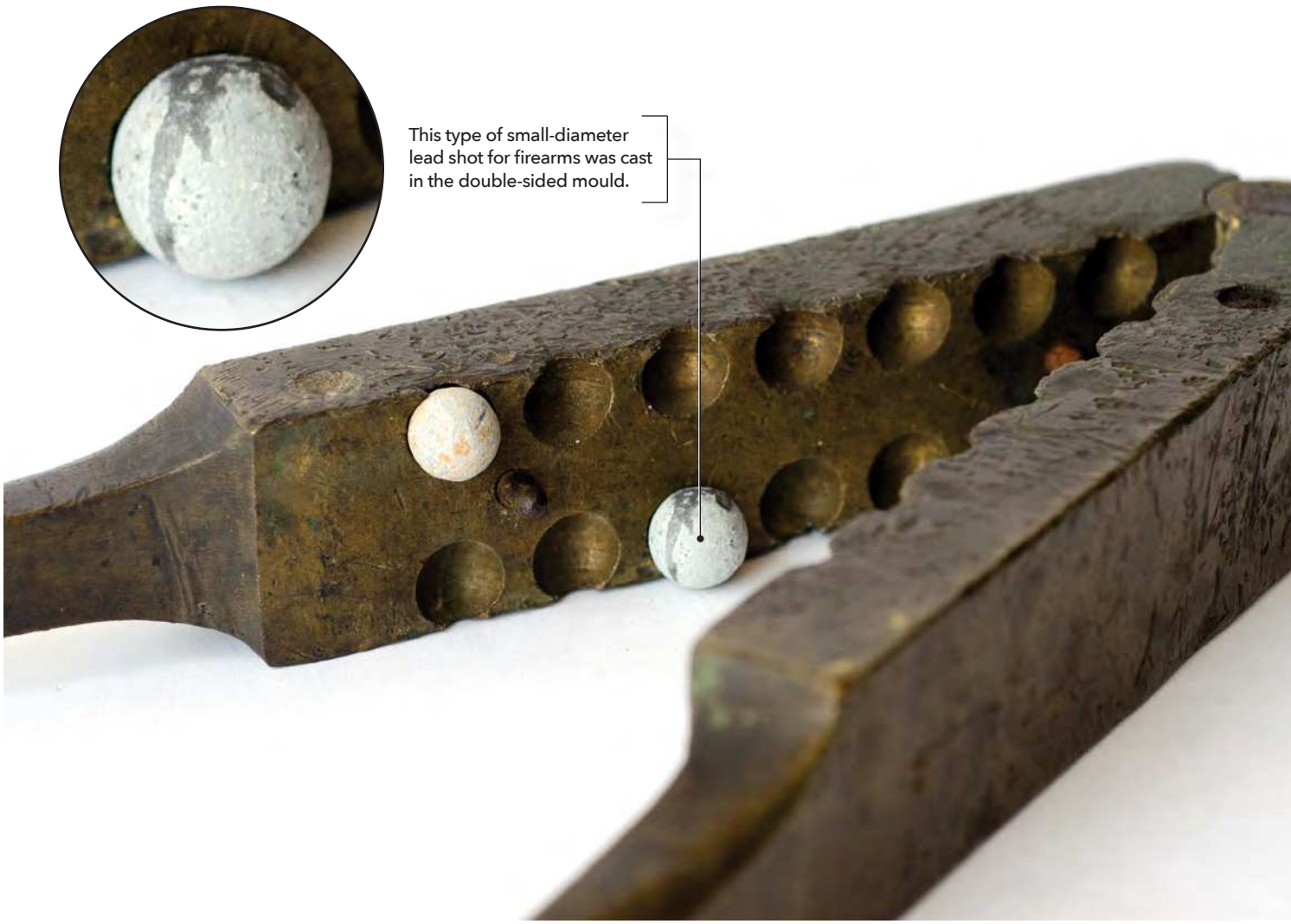
FOR 7-TO-12 YEAR OLDS

BIG SAVINGS OFF THE COVER PRICE

CANADA'S HISTORY

Subscribe today! Mail the attached card
Call 1-888-816-0997
Order online at **CanadasHistory.ca**

THE BEAVER 1920 2020 100 YEARS



This type of small-diameter lead shot for firearms was cast in the double-sided mould.

Shot mould

From the rich legacy of the Hudson's Bay Company

Shot moulds were used to manufacture lead shot for firearms. This cast-brass double-sided gang mould could produce fourteen musket balls after molten lead was poured into the small holes on the side. Once the lead had cooled and set, the mould was hinged open, and the balls were removed.

Where the lead had entered the mould, the balls would be attached to each other with a piece of lead called a sprue. It would need to be snipped before the shot could be used, and a small sprue mark is often visible on the shot. Such marks can help archaeologists to determine the method of manufacture — whether shot was cast in a mould or produced in a shot tower (a different method for manufacturing small-diameter shot balls).

Although much lead shot would have been shipped directly from England, moulds like this were used to recycle and to reuse available lead. This mould was found in 1931 near York Factory in northern Manitoba.

— Amelia Fay, curator of the HBC Collection at the Manitoba Museum

ARTIFACTS FROM THE MANITOBA MUSEUM (HBC 2480) / PHOTO BY ANDREW WORKMAN

HUDSON'S BAY

The Beaver magazine was originally founded as a Hudson's Bay Company publication in 1920. To read stories from past issues, go to **CanadasHistory.ca/Archive**. To explore the history of the Hudson's Bay Company, go to **hbcheritage.ca**, or follow HBC's Twitter and Instagram feeds at **@HBCHeritage.**

Chief Isaac stands in front of a crowd during Discovery Day celebrations in Dawson City, Yukon, circa 1920.

DAWSON MUSEUM 1984.106.1

RECONSIDERING THE GOLD RUSH

When prospectors stampeded into the Klondike, Chief Isaac guided the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in people through a time of turmoil.

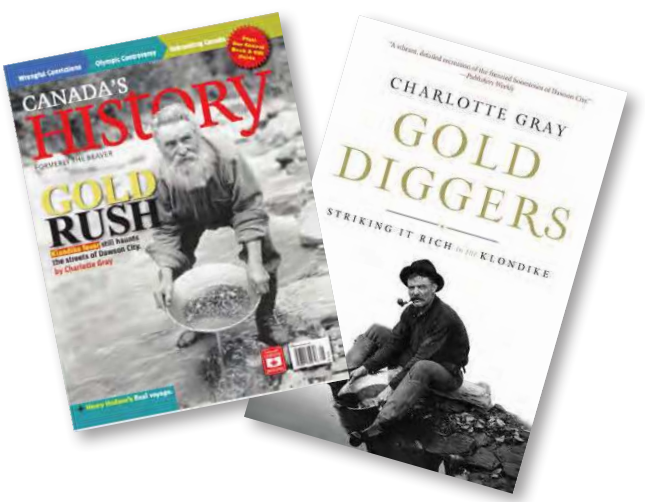
by Charlotte Gray

THE KLONDIKE GOLD RUSH IS ONE OF THE MOST MYTHOLOGIZED events in Canadian history. One hundred and twenty-five years ago, a handful of prospectors discovered gold nuggets in a tributary of the Klondike River and triggered a stampede of more than one hundred thousand people into Yukon. They travelled thousands of kilometres to reach the district, then rafted down the Yukon River and established a mining camp on a mud flat. The visuals and soundtrack of this epic adventure are embedded in the national imagination. The hair-raising climb up the Chilkoot Pass! (Flash the famous Eric Hegg photo onscreen.) The brutal conditions in which tens of thousands of prospectors lived! (Show grainy archival photos of a crowded Front Street in Dawson City.) The bars, casinos, dancehalls! (Cue the cancan music.)

The excitement ebbed after three years, and most of the prospectors moved elsewhere. But the appetite for gold rush tales of derring-do has continued to be fed by writers from Jack London to Robert Service, from Pierre Berton to ... me. In 2010 I published *Gold Diggers: Striking It Rich in the Klondike*. I told the story of the gold rush through the lenses of six individuals who were there and whose voices I was able to recover through written records — letters and memoirs plus archival newspaper photos and clippings. I was keen to show that the episode involved far more people than the muscular, grizzled heroes celebrated by previous writers. So, in addition to a miner, I wrote about a saintly priest, a spit-and-polish Mountie, a savvy businesswoman, a female reporter from the *London Times*, and the young Jack London who built his astonishingly successful career on stories based on his Yukon experiences.

But, in the decade since I published that book, I've realized that my account of the Klondike gold rush was unbalanced. If I were to embark on such a tale again, I'd amplify my approach. The way we understand the past evolves continually, but recently there have been two particular (and overdue) shifts in the stories we tell ourselves about past events.

The first is the recognition that textbook Canadian history has always focused on settlers. For too long, we have ignored, disparaged, or challenged the stories of Indigenous people who lived on this land for thousands of years before Europeans arrived here. As former Senator Murray Sinclair, who headed the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of



Perspectives have changed since Charlotte Gray published a book and a *Canada's History* article about the Klondike gold rush in 2010.

Stampeders climb the Chilkoot Pass in Alaska circa 1898 on their way to Yukon and the Klondike goldfields.

Canada, put it, "We need to change the way that we educate our children. Indigenous and non-Indigenous, they all need to grow up and be educated in a Canada with a fuller and more proper sense of the history of this country." That means much more thorough and respectful coverage of Indigenous history. Lee Maracle, the celebrated poet who is a member of the Sto:Loh Nation, insists, "Nothing about us, without us."

The second shift is the greater attention being paid to environmental history — the study of human interaction with the natural world. Climate change forces us to reconsider the colonial assumption that the earth's resources are inexhaustible and are ours to exploit. In the words of the fierce young climate activist Greta Thunberg, "Our house is on fire." If we are to prevent the planet from becoming unlivable, we need to develop a more holistic approach. As Chief Dana Tizya-Tramm of the Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation in Old Crow, Yukon, told the 2018 Global Climate Action Summit, "Respect for Indigenous rights is key to stemming and reversing climate change.... The disregard of our people is the disregard of this planet."

I recognize now that the gold rush story is incomplete without these two perspectives. I want to re-establish the pivotal role of Indigenous people in the events on the Klondike River during the 1890s. Even the name of the river itself is a colonial corruption of a much older name — Tr'ondëk, the name of the First Nations people who had lived in the region for thousands of years. The Tr'ondëk chief of the time played a significant role in the gold rush but has been pushed aside in the conventional stampede narrative.

According to archaeologists, First Nations people have lived in the northern region now known as Yukon for at least fourteen thousand years. In the 1890s they were largely oblivious to the Dominion of Canada government in Ottawa and to the border with the United States. For the Tlingit, Hän Hwëch'in, Tr'ondëk, Kaska, Tagish, and Tutchone First Nations — whose combined population numbered about five thousand — this was their traditional territory, a homeland rich in resources including game, fish, and berries. European concepts of land ownership were meaningless to them; they belonged to the land, lived in harmony with its rhythms, and recognized the mutual dependence of all living creatures. These peoples played a significant yet overlooked role in the gold rush, as hunters, porters, and traders.

In contrast, the stampeders and their chroniclers, especially in the early years, chose to describe a treacherous, empty land — "several hundred thousand square miles of frigidity," in the words of Jack London. Only their epic efforts, they implied, could wrest the precious yellow metal from the ground. They were largely indifferent, if not openly hostile, to the Indigenous population, and they were equally careless of the damage they were doing to Yukon's ecology. Their mentality of conquest dominates popular accounts of the gold rush, and the gold rush dominates Yukon history. "It is a toxic mythology," said Joseph Tisiga, a multidisciplinary artist from the Kaska Dene Nation, as the Kaska people are now called. "Anyone interested in the values of reconciliation, cultural healing, and a future of inclusion should ask to change the 'gold rush' identity of the Yukon."

In 2005, when I began researching my book *Gold Diggers*, I looked for an individual who might voice the Indigenous experience. But I could not find the kind of written primary sources upon which I had been taught to rely: diaries, letters, and journals. Although I covered the story of the land's Indigenous inhabitants extensively in my book, it remained in the background rather than the foreground.

It turns out that there were sources; I just didn't know where to look. The first source was Indigenous oral histories, particularly those passed on by the Hän-speaking people known today as the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in, whose traditional territory included what would become Dawson City. The second was the local newspapers of the time. From them I could have focused on the charismatic Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in leader Chief Isaac. If I had paid attention to these sources, I would not have repeated the mistakes of the colonial narrative, from which Yukon's original peoples have been excluded.

Photos of Chief Isaac, who became a Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in chief before the gold rush, show a tall, elegant man with high cheekbones and a friendly smile. His Indigenous name has been lost to history. The name "Isaac" was given to him by the Anglican Bishop William Bompas, and archival sources usually refer to him simply as "Chief Isaac." An obituary in the *Alaska Weekly* of April 15, 1932, described him as "tall, slender, sinewy and muscular, he was of superior physical proportions and ... as well endowed mentally."

TOP LEFT: ALASKA'S DIGITAL ARCHIVE ASL-P297-216. OPPOSITE PAGE CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA / C-005389; DAWSON MUSEUM ARCHIVES 1998.22.598, H.J. GOETZMAN/LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA/PA-052838; DAWSON MUSEUM ARCHIVES 1994.15.3.88; DAWSON MUSEUM ARCHIVES 1983.180.155; LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA / EDWARD MARTIN KINDLE COLLECTION / E011303081-029_54

Above: An Indigenous person paddles a birchbark canoe on the Yukon River circa 1900. Indigenous people used the area's rivers for fishing and transportation.

Left: A prospector pans for gold in Yukon circa 1897.

Below left: Two Gwich'in women stand in front of their tent, while a large hide hangs behind them to dry. At the time of the Klondike gold rush, the Indigenous people of Yukon pursued largely traditional lives of hunting, fishing, and gathering.

Below right: Miners use a steam boiler, winches, and sluices to extract gold from a claim on Gold Run Creek, Yukon, in 1908. Over time, low-tech panning for gold gave way to this type of industrialized operation.

Above: After negotiating with NWMP Inspector Charles Constantine, Chief Isaac moved his people to a site five kilometres downriver from Dawson City, Yukon, where they built the village of Moosehide, shown here circa 1902.

Right: A busy Dawson City street in 1899. Prospectors built the city on the banks of the Klondike River, overwhelming the traditional fishing settlement of the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in.

Above: Keish, also known as "Skookum Jim" Mason, was a member of the Tagish First Nation. In 1896, he and his prospecting partners made the strike that set off the Klondike gold rush. As such, he is one of the few Indigenous people included in the mainstream gold rush narrative. Together, Keish and his partners Shaaw Tláa, Káa Goox, and George Carmack eventually earned nearly $1 million from prospecting. In accordance with his will, Keish's fortune was put in trust after his death to help the Indigenous people of Yukon. The trust fund still exists today.

Top left: Five Chilkat porters, a miner, and two oxen stop to rest near Dyea, Alaska, at the head of the Chilkoot trail, in 1897.

Left: Two miners hold a gold pan containing what is purported to be the largest nugget ever found in Yukon, with a weight of 3.59 kilograms.

In most photos, he wears a blend of Indigenous and Western dress — a heavily fringed and embroidered buckskin jacket and cloth pants. Born around 1847, he was married to a woman called Eliza Harper, and they had thirteen children, four of whom survived childhood — Fred, Charlie, Angela, and Patricia, known as "Princess Patricia" because she was the daughter of the chief. Chief Isaac's granddaughter Joy Isaac recalls her mother telling her that Chief Isaac was "a good medicine man," revered by his family and his people for his healing and hunting skills.

Joy Isaac and her relatives have recently created a website to commemorate Chief Isaac. There they describe how their ancestors were hunters and gatherers, connected to and dependent on their relationship with land, water, animals, and air. For centuries they moved with the seasons, spending each fall gathering berries, each winter hunting, and each summer fishing for salmon at the mud flat where a particular tributary rich in salmon flowed into the Yukon River.

Chief Isaac's branch of the Hän Hwëch'in likely numbered about two hundred people. They called themselves "Tr'ondëk," and this is why the prospectors gave the name Klondike — a corruption of Tr'ondëk — to the salmon-rich tributary flowing into the Yukon River. "Tr'o" refers to a special rock, a hammer rock, that they used to drive salmon-weir stakes into the tributary during their summer camp on the mud flat. "Ndëk" is a waterway or river. In time, the Tr'ondëk would add "Hwëch'in," which means people, to their name — so "Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in" means People of the Hammer-rock River.

Long before the gold rush began, Chief Isaac was aware of the slow infiltration of Indigenous territories by southerners. For decades there was a robust and mutually beneficial trade in fox, bear, and lynx furs between Indigenous trappers and white traders. Missionaries had appeared in Indigenous villages. Chief Isaac himself had converted to Christianity (which he combined with traditional spiritual beliefs). Next came the miners, who travelled north from the thriving gold mines of California, Colorado, and British Columbia. They established a string of raucous mining camps along the Yukon River — Rampart City, Circle City, Eagle, Forty Mile, Fort Reliance, Sixty Mile, and Fort Selkirk.

Joy Isaac recalls her aunt Pat telling her that Chief Isaac "knew they were human beings, and he was friendly with them and welcomed them. And he told his people to be good to them, too." There are stories of Indigenous hunters finding stranded and starving southerners and saving their lives. As Jackie Olson, the former executive director of the Klondike Visitors Association, who is herself Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in, pointed out, "You see these old photos [from that period] labelled 'Two Indian men,' and it doesn't even give their names. But you know the photographer probably wouldn't even be there without their help."

One of the first white people that Chief Isaac got to know was Jack McQuesten, a tall, burly American with a

TOP LEFT: ALASKA'S DIGITAL ARCHIVES ASL-P277-001-152. TOP RIGHT: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA/C-025640. CENTRE LEFT: GETTY IMAGES 640504185

bushy moustache who worked for the Alaska Commercial Company and had established the Fort Reliance trading post on the banks of the Yukon River in 1874. McQuesten, whose wife, Kate, came from the Koyukon people of Alaska, learned a little Hän, the language of the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in people, and Chief Isaac learned a little English. The chief and the trader became friends.

Small amounts of gold flakes and nuggets were enough to keep the gumbooted miners going, as they panned for alluvial gold along the Yukon and its tributaries. If any of them had stopped to chat with Chief Isaac as they floated down the Yukon River, they would have heard that a much bigger haul of soft yellow stones was available in the gravel at the mouth of the Klondike River. The chief's granddaughter said that he knew there were "lots of big nuggets along the creeks." But you can't eat gold, so it had no value for people who lived on the land, and few prospectors bothered to communicate with the people who knew this land the best.

It was only when news leaked out of a spectacular strike on a Klondike creek in 1896 that the gold rush began. Who found the gold? For years, an American named George Carmack was credited with the strike, since the claim was registered in his name in the mining recorder's office at Forty Mile. But Carmack was known as a lazy fellow, and even his contemporaries speculated that the gold was first sighted by his Tagish wife, Shaaw Tláa (also known as Kate Carmack), her brother Keish (whom Carmack called Skookum Jim), or Shaaw Tláa's nephew Káa Goox (nicknamed Tagish Charlie). Carmack registered the claim because Indigenous claims were rarely honoured, and, anyway, prospectors preferred the version that named one of their own as the original finder. So Shaaw Tláa and her relatives have only walk-on parts in gold rush mythology.

Thousands of stampeders arrived at the mouth of the Klondike River in the spring of 1897, and Chief Isaac could see that there was going to be trouble. Aggressive newcomers didn't confine themselves to Dawson City, the townsite on the opposite bank of the Klondike from Tr'ochëk, the traditional fishing settlement of the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in. They spread into Tr'ochëk itself, staked all the available land, bought several of the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in moosehide dwellings, and started building cabins. Soon Tr'ochëk was overwhelmed and the fishing equipment was vandalized. "My dad … was afraid his people would learn bad habits from the white people, drinking and trouble like that," Pat Isaac told her niece Joy. Chief Isaac decided that the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in people should move.

Chief Isaac was, in the words of the current Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in Chief Roberta Joseph, "a remarkable leader. He had to adapt to new ways and ensure the safety of our people." He conducted negotiations with the newcomers with a civility that was rarely reciprocated. His first request was that the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in should move to a plot of land on the Dawson side of the Klondike, but that was rudely

THE MYTHMAKERS

Writers, photographers, and filmmakers have mined the Yukon gold rush for creative inspiration. Whether true to life or wildly fantastic, their works have nearly always depicted the Klondike from the colonizers' point of view.

Above left: Journalist Pierre Berton wrote the award-winning book *Klondike: The Last Great Gold Rush*.

Above right: Author Jack London wrote adventure stories inspired by his own experiences in the Klondike.

Top far right: Eric Hegg took this photo of a Chilkat man posing as a packer in his Skagway, Alaska, studio in 1897.

Right: A poster for the 1936 movie *Klondike Annie,* which was based on a play written by the film's star, Mae West.

Bottom far right: A poster for the 1950 movie *Call of the Klondike*, starring Kirby Grant as a heroic Mountie and Chinook the Wonder Dog as his canine sidekick.

TOP LEFT: GETTY IMAGES 454219564. CENTRE: ALAMY D8SWGB. TOP RIGHT: ALAMY JW561K. BOTTOM LEFT: ALAMY ESMGG0. BOTTOM RIGHT: ALAMY HCRAC6

rebuffed by the North West Mounted Police. NWMP Inspector Charles Constantine had earmarked the area for his compound and made it clear that he didn't want to share it with its original occupants.

With hundreds more miners and their followers paddling down the Yukon River each day, a painful transition for the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in was inevitable. They struggled to learn English and to communicate with the newcomers, few of whom bothered to learn Hän. They watched the southerners overwhelm their fishing grounds, occupy Tr'ochëk, chop down forests for firewood, and rip apart the land around the creeks. By 1898, Dawson City had thirty thousand inhabitants and was the largest city west of Winnipeg and north of Seattle. What hope of survival did a few dozen Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in — vulnerable to the diseases that miners brought with them and to the temptation of whisky — have?

Yet Chief Isaac protected his people. He refused the dismissive suggestion from Constantine that Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in families should isolate themselves on islands in the middle of the Yukon River. Instead, he moved his people five kilometres downriver to a site called Moosehide Village. There the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in continued living on the land for several decades, passing down their stories and celebrating their festivals. "He knew our Hän songs would be lost" in the turmoil, Chief Roberta Joseph told me, "so he asked our brothers and sisters in Alaska to keep them for us." Alaska's Tanana people returned the songs in the 1990s, a century after the gold rush. "We were at last able to hold our traditional potlaches again," Joseph said.

The intruders had shouldered aside the land's Indigenous residents and reduced them to near invisibility. If contemporary accounts of the great stampede mention them at all, it is often with disdain. Yet they were crucial to survival in Dawson. In the bitter winter of 1897–98, many Dawsonites would have starved had it not been for the moose meat supplied by skilled Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in hunters. During the peak years of the gold rush, Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in labourers worked on the Yukon paddlewheelers, the building sites, and, occasionally, the claims. Chief Isaac was a frequent presence in Dawson City, speaking up for Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in who were accused of committing petty crimes or who were arrested for alleged drunkenness. By the end of the gold rush, his strength and diplomacy had won deep respect from Dawson officials. Dawson residents made him an honorary member of the Yukon Order of Pioneers and invited him to speak at Discovery Day, the annual celebration of the first gold strike on the Klondike. He was often photographed with dignitaries, including the Yukon commissioner and the Anglican bishop.

Chief Isaac was courteous to the newcomers, but he rejected their attitude toward his people and their territory. He used the three local newspapers — the *Klondike Nugget*, the *Dawson Daily News*, and the *Yukon Sun* — to convey important messages. He pointed out that the justice system was harsher to Indigenous offenders than to whites. He frequently reminded readers that non-Indigenous people had ruined the delicate ecological balance that had existed in the region before the gold rush. The Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in had welcomed the miners, but in the process their own way of life had nearly been destroyed.

A newspaper clipping from the period preserves one of Chief Isaac's passionate speeches, given in English, his second language: "Long time ago before the white man came along, Yukon Indian was happy. Indian had plenty game, no trouble and was fat. White man comes and Indian go out and kill meat to feed him. Indian gives white man

Above: Inspector Charles Constantine of the North West Mounted Police.

Left: Chief Isaac and his son Edward circa 1899. Edward died of tuberculosis at the age of fourteen.

BOTTOM LEFT: ALASKA'S DIGITAL ARCHIVES ASL-P227-001-152 BOTTOM RIGHT: GLENBOW ARCHIVES NA-2703-2

People encircle a sacred canoe at the 2018 Moosehide Gathering, a biennial celebration of Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in cultural traditions that takes place at the Moosehide Village heritage site downriver from Dawson City, Yukon.

clothes to wear and warm him by Indian fire. Byemby ... million white man come and cut down Indian's wood, kill Indian's game, take Indian's gold out of the ground, give Indian nothing. Game all gone, wood all gone, Indian cold and hungry, white man no care."

This was the voice that was missing in my 2010 book.

Today, the way mining has elbowed out the rest of Yukon history is under review. The latest example came in February 2021, when the fifty-seven-year-old Yukon Sourdough Rendezvous festival was rebranded as the Yukon Rendezvous festival. The word "sourdough," slang for a white miner who had survived a Klondike winter, was dropped because of its colonial connotations, said representatives of the Yukon Sourdough Rendezvous Society, which organizes the event. (The society kept the word "sourdough" in its own name while removing it from the name of the festival.)

In response to the change, the society received an outpouring of "hate, bigotry, threats of vandalism and bullying," the local CBC station reported. But some people defended the change. Lori Fox, a CBC columnist, pointed out that those who voiced outrage were defending a history that is "racist, sexist, misogynist and — quite frankly — a hot mess of highly questionable colonial behaviour." The artist Joseph Tisiga added, "What and how a culture celebrates says a lot about its core values. Why was a festival created around someone who had spent only one year here? Come on! First Nations have spent thousands of years up here — living, not just 'surviving.' Yukon has promoted the gold rush as its central identity, but the cost of this identity is a legacy of First Nation displacement and exploitation."

Tisiga pointed out that white superiority is "encoded into Yukon culture, with streets named after prospectors rather than our Elders." During summers spent in Dawson City, he has often felt he is in a gold rush theme park. "The gold rush has been romanticized and it has obscured the peoples, art, and culture that have been here for thousands of years."

Each summer, tourists arrive in Dawson City to pan for gold or to visit Diamond Tooth Gertie's Gambling Hall and the Jack London Museum. Residents acknowledge the economic benefits of tourism. But now the visitors can hear the gold rush's counter-narratives. Despite the damage done by the gold rush, the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in have survived and, after a 1998 land agreement, prospered. Their government is now the largest employer in town. The Hän language is taught in the schools. Students — Indigenous and non-Indigenous — can take courses in hunting skills. And, since 2008, visitors have been invited into the stunning Dänojà Zho Cultural Centre to view a video about the community's traditions, its role in the gold rush, and its economic and cultural survival and success. "There are other reasons to come here besides the gold rush," said Olson, the former executive director of the Klondike Visitors Association. "For so long, our stories were so disturbing that they were swept under the carpet, and my generation was raised 'white.' But we are ready to tell our own stories, and all of a sudden people want to hear them."

Wayne Potoroka, the mayor of Dawson City, added, "In Dawson we acknowledge that we all have a role to play in reconciliation. For too long we forgot the bad stuff that happened. The gold rush wasn't all dancing girls. It was rough."

Yet Chief Roberta Joseph argues that a larger story is still untold — the story of lost potential. "The gold rush meant a loss of opportunities for my ancestors. We could have been one of the most prosperous First Nations in Canada, but the wealth and culture of our traditional territory was reaped from under our feet." Like Chief Isaac a century ago, she said, "we were left with nothing."

To learn more about Chief Isaac, visit ChiefIsaac.com.

MOOSEHIDE GATHERING/ ALISTAIR MAITLAND

American weather wizard Charles Hatfield holds a barometer, portending the rain that he claimed he could summon.

ILLUSTRATION BY ROBERT CARTER

THE RAINMAKER

With a mix of chemistry and bravado, a peddler of pluviculture convinced farmers that he could coax water from the sky.

by Alan MacEachern

IN PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN AT CHAPPICE LAKE, ALBERTA, in the summer of 1921, California rainmaker Charles Hatfield cut an unimposing figure: a slight, middle-aged man in a suit, perhaps a travelling salesman. And yet he drew the attention of the group clustered around to hear him speak. A *Toronto Globe* reporter wrote, "His absolute confidence in his powers was, to me, amazing; not conceit — just colossal confidence such as I seldom, if ever, have met in a human being." A Lethbridge journalist stated, "The absolute faith he places in his work is the most striking impression one receives."

Hatfield was a confident man.

Or a confidence man. The British Meteorological Office couldn't decide if Hatfield was lying about his abilities or deluded in thinking he could make it rain. Sir Robert Frederic Stupart, the director of the Meteorological Service of Canada, was certain: He was "a fakir pure and simple." The United States Weather Bureau was concerned enough about his international reputation that it called for the "suppression" of media reports about rainmaking schemes, urging newspapers to publish "only correct, scientific statements on scientific topics."

After three consecutive parched prairie summers, Charles Hatfield had been hired by the United Agricultural Association (UAA) of Medicine Hat, Alberta, to make it rain. He had been plying his trade for years, from Texas to the Klondike, and was more famous in 1921 than he ever had been or ever would be again. Media from across North America and Europe joined Albertans in watching to see whether Hatfield would deliver.

This is a tale with surprising resonances today. It is a story of a supremely self-assured populist, a press corps drawn to share sensational stories, and a culture trusting in science's infinite potential yet distrustful of scientists themselves. As much as a battle between science and pseudo-science, it became a battle over facts and their meaning. When the rain did come to southeastern Alberta that summer, debates raged as to how much it rained, whether this was a "normal" amount, and how much of it was thanks to the rainmaker.

Born in Kansas in 1875, Charles Mallory Hatfield came into the world during a cloudburst — or so legend had it. He was selling sewing machines in California just after the turn of the twentieth century when he got interested in "pluviculture," the artificial production of rain, and developed a method he claimed would work. He swore that, by taking a secret recipe of chemicals, combining them, and allowing the fumes to mix with the surrounding air, he could cause rain clouds to form. Whether amused or convinced, the people of Los Angeles coined the expression "it's hatfielding" for "it's raining" — free advertising with every shower.

Hatfield's first government contract was with Yukon Territory in 1906, but his rainmaking there was a bust. He walked away with only a cheque for his expenses and a dose of bad publicity. A decade later, the city of San Diego, California, hired him. But, when heavy rains caused a massive flood that killed twenty-two people, the city refused to pay up, and he sued. The entire episode was both a spectacularly bad and a spectacularly good advertisement for his business.

In 1919, an admiring profile of Hatfield in *Everybody's Magazine* — complete with a photograph of him in a lab, mixing chemicals — allowed him the opportunity to explain his process, albeit vaguely. "I do not profess that I can actually make rain," he noted. "I only claim that I can induce Nature to release, by way of precipitation, the moisture which the air already carries." The article made Hatfield significantly better known across North America.

That was when Medicine Hat farmers took notice. Since 1917, southern Alberta had been suffering under a tremendously hot and dry spell that would be rivalled only by the dust bowl years of the 1930s. The desert-like conditions brought plagues of flies, grasshoppers, and gophers. Wheat withered or was eaten by insects in the field, and the average yield plummeted — from 35 bushels per acre in 1915 to just 1.4 in 1919 — even as the postwar price of wheat plummeted, too. With land values collapsing, a significant number of families simply walked away from their farms.

In desperation, the farmers of Steveville, Alberta, came close to obtaining Hatfield's services in 1920 but ultimately decided against it, concerned that doing so might hurt real estate prices by implying that they lived in the dry belt. The town of Vulcan, Alberta, sent a representative to the western United States to research Hatfield. The investigator reported back, "They all say he is honest." Debates on whether to hire the rainmaker were carried extensively in local newspapers — which only made communities worry that, if they didn't snap him up soon, somewhere nearby would. Ultimately, it was the Medicine Hat branch of the UAA that took the plunge, signing a contract with Hatfield early in 1921 to make it rain that summer.

Charles Hatfield mixes chemicals intended to induce rainfall in 1919.

What sold the Hat on Hatfield was his motto: "No rain, no pay." The farmers would pay nothing to bring him in and nothing if no rain fell. If rain did fall, the farmers would raise the funds to pay Hatfield by having each family in the district pay a one-dollar levy.

Rain between May 1 and August 1 would be valued at $4,000 per inch, with Hatfield given half the credit for it — the other half of the credit belonging, presumably, to Mother Nature. In other words, Hatfield would make $2,000 per inch to a maximum of four inches, or $8,000. Any excess precipitation would be free of charge. (By comparison, Ty Cobb, the highest-paid baseball player in America, made $25,000 that year.) In metric measurements, Hatfield's pay rate translates to about eighty dollars per millimetre of rain.

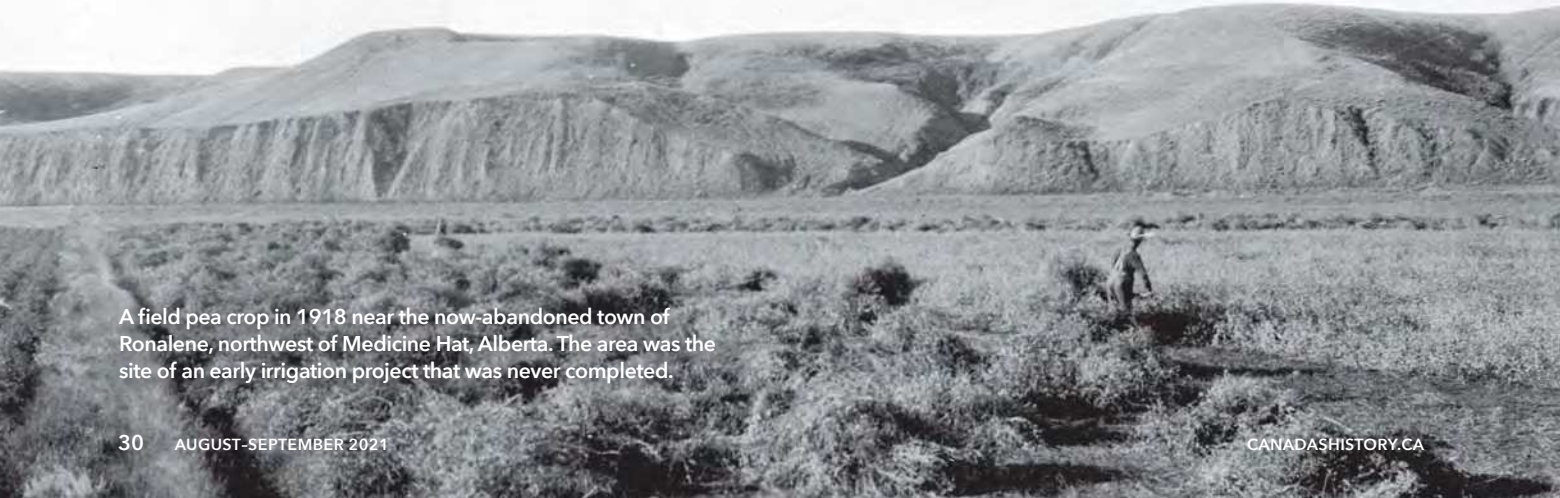
Certainly, not everyone believed Hatfield could do what he claimed — but they weren't sure. The local *Redcliff Review* asked, in the modern world, "Is Anything Impossible?" and compared Hatfield to inventors like Thomas Edison, Alexander Graham Bell, and Guglielmo Marconi, who were laughed at until the moment they were proven right. Hatfield's supporters repeatedly emphasized that at $2,000 per inch it would be "cheap rain" if it meant higher grain yields. It would be, if it did. A few cynics noted, however, that since Hatfield would face no penalty for failing to make good, he could simply do nothing and, like everyone else, pray for a season of good rain.

Word of the rainmaking contract generated interest across North America. The *Washington Post* reported on it, for example, and Albert T. Reid of the *New York Evening Mail* published a syndicated cartoon playing off the pluviculture fad. Some Albertans cringed at all the publicity — concerned that they were being pegged as yokels, as chumps — but for the most part they were good-natured about it, because for the most part the coverage was good-natured, too.

The only people unanimously critical of the Medicine Hat contract were meteorologists. The Meteorological Service of Canada (MSC) and the United States Weather Bureau, although both fifty years old, were still relatively small operations, still establishing their names, and were working diligently to ensure that folk knowledge gave way to modern science and technology. Hatfield blurred this distinction with a blend of purported scientific experimentation and old-fashioned wizardry. (Indeed, the man who had begun his career calling himself "Professor Hatfield" eventually became known as "The Wizard of the Clouds.")

The two nations' weather bureaus took Hatfield as a serious threat to their authority, and so they lambasted him in the press. Both agencies also replied scathingly to the Lethbridge Board of Trade's request for opinions of Hatfield, with MSC director Stupart saying, "I regret very much that your farmers intend to throw away some of their hard-earned dollars." From California, Hatfield wrote to the farmers, reassuring them that he always faced skeptics: "Pay no attention to them whatever."

TOP: THE JOURNAL OF SAN DIEGO HISTORY; BOTTOM: ESPLANADE ARCHIVES 0476-0336



A field pea crop in 1918 near the now-abandoned town of Ronalene, northwest of Medicine Hat, Alberta. The area was the site of an early irrigation project that was never completed.

NOTICE TO AUTO OWNERS
Hatfield, the Rainmaker, Is Coming
Don't be caught in the rain. Get that leaky top re-covered and repaired.
BY THE
LETHBRIDGE AUTO TOP DEPOT
OUR GOODS ARE ALL GUARANTEED.
EXPERIENCED OVER TWENTY YEARS.
G. T. BLUNT, Proprietor.
PHONE 1142. NEXT TO THE HERALD.

Above: Charles Hatfield explains his rainmaking methods to a gathering of people near Chappice Lake, outside of Medicine Hat, Alberta, in 1921. Top right: A 1921 advertisement by the Lethbridge Auto Top Depot used Hatfield's promise of rain as an opportunity to sell repair and re-covering services for car roofs. Above right: Sir Robert Frederic Stupart circa 1917.

The townsfolk of Medicine Hat grew more excited that spring for Hatfield's impending arrival. Would he or wouldn't he — could he or couldn't he — make it rain? Local stores advertised waterproof coats, umbrellas, and car tops on the strength of their belief in the free market, if not in him. A new local amateur baseball league dubbed itself "The Rainmaker's League" and announced that it fully expected many games to be cancelled on account of rain. Finally, on April 20, under a threatening sky, Hatfield arrived in Medicine Hat to a hero's welcome.

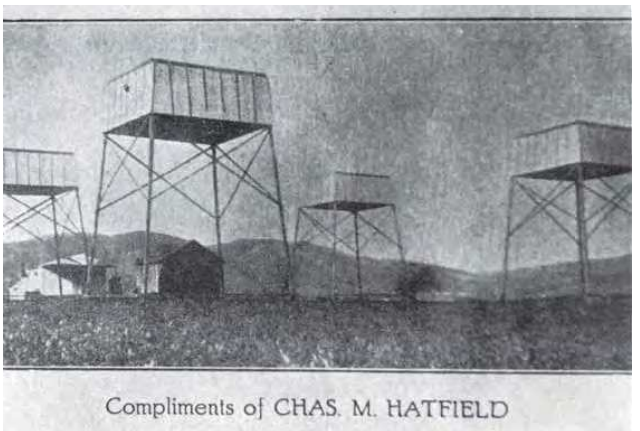
The rainmaker won over the community completely the next day, at a banquet held in the Corona Hotel while a light rain fell outside. Hatfield spoke only briefly, but it was not so much what he said as how he said it. Reporters mentioned the "ring of confidence" when he spoke, "the absolute certainty of the man." He raved about the district, calling it the most auspicious countryside for farming with the most promising conditions for rain that he had ever seen. "I expect my work here to be one of my great successes," he predicted, "a sort of climax to my fifteen years in operation in the face of ridicule, scorn, and, at times, abuse." Hatfield assured his audience that, although the farmers of Swift Current, Saskatchewan, had offered him $10,000 to work his magic there that summer, too, he would devote himself solely to Medicine Hat. "You'll see a rainfall such as you've not seen in five, six, seven, or eight years." He would make Alberta grow again.

Exactly how he would do so was left largely unsaid. The *Lethbridge Herald* trumpeted an exclusive hour-long interview with the rainmaker, but its quotes are taken word-for-word from the 1919 *Everybody's Magazine* profile. "There is no magic in my method," Hatfield stated. "It is only scientific. The problem ... resolves itself into the matter of somewhat localizing the ever-present air-borne moisture and condensing it to the point of precipitation. To accomplish this I use certain chemicals, the character of which must naturally remain my secret.... The fumes of the chemicals, by means of the heat I used, are mixed with the surrounding air, which results in what you may term an overturning of the atmosphere. This first produces cirrus clouds, the forerunners of rain-clouds. In a short time these cirrus clouds develop into nimbus or rain clouds. Yes, it is all very simple."

The rainmaker then headed to Chappice Lake, about thirty kilometres northeast of Medicine Hat, to set up operations with his younger brother and long-time assistant, Paul Hatfield. The site had been chosen by the UAA, and Charles Hatfield proclaimed it ideally suited, one of the best locations he had ever had. He claimed that evaporation from Chappice Lake would improve his operation's ability to attract moisture and that even more rain would fall, over an even larger territory, than he had originally planned. Hatfield's contract — and the measuring of rain that would determine his payment — started on May 1, but he asked that visitors hold off visiting his rain operation until May 10, when everything would be fully up and running.

A local newspaper accurately predicted that "Let's take a run out and see the rainmaker" would be the saying for the summer of 1921. Visitors flocked to Chappice Lake from all over. Reporters from across North America checked on his progress. For the first time ever, Hatfield's operation was filmed by a movie company. What visitors found was Hatfield standing by a rather frail-looking wooden tower roughly eight metres high, each corner lashed down with a strong wire. Inside the tower's enclosed top, there were a great number of "highly electrified"

LEFT: ESPLANADE ARCHIVES 0133-0012. TOP RIGHT: COURTESY OF ALAN MACEACHERN. LOWER RIGHT: ROYAL ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY OF CANADA



Top: Grace Cousins, left, Ann Wagstaff, centre, and Dorothy Niblock, right, pray for precipitation at the rainmaker's structure near Chappice Lake, Alberta, in 1921.

Above: Charles Hatfield's business card, showing his four rainmaking towers at Crows Landing in Stanislaus County, California, circa 1907–8.

vats containing the rainmaker's secret blend of chemicals that would release the gases that would pull moisture from the sky. Or so he said. Alas, the tower was too frail and too high for visitors to see its workings.

And then came the rain.

It began to fall even while Hatfield was setting up, before it counted towards his contract. He then announced that it would rain between May 3 and 6, and, sure enough, there was precipitation three times in early May throughout southern Alberta. That kicked off a debate that would rage all summer as to, in the words of one newspaper, "what credit, if any, is due to Rainmaker Hatfield?" A few people pointed to the fact that rain had also fallen in areas west of Medicine Hat, which — given that prevailing winds ran west to east — meant his operation to the east of town was in no way responsible. But many others saw him, and their faith in him, vindicated. "Contrary to the prediction of Sir F. Stupart ... and other weather prophets," crowed the UAA's W.R. Stevens, "the words of Hatfield came true, and the promised rains did come on scheduled time." The only question now, Stevens asked, was whether to ask Hatfield to suspend his work until seeding was done.

The rains continued throughout May. A regularly published crop survey of southern Alberta noted: "In the Rainmaker's section, Taber east, plenty of moisture is cheering the farmers." Hatfield earned an estimated $1,000 per week for his first three weeks, and comparisons were made to Noah. It got to the point that headlines asked whether Hatfield was "Overdoing the Thing?"

And then came June. And July.

The summer of 1921 was the hottest in decades across the Canadian West, but at least there was plenty of rain — everywhere except in southern Alberta. In local newspapers a reader can track, like a developing storm system, the growing dissatisfaction with Hatfield. By mid-June a few people were asking, "what has become of Hatfield?" By late June, when the rainmaker tried to reassure a UAA meeting that the rain would come, "some pretty plain talking was directed to him." By early July it was said outright that he was "a complete failure." By late July, a report out of Medicine Hat said, "confidence in Hatfield is down to zero."

But within this general pattern there was noticeable variation. Throughout June and July, newspapers from towns beyond Medicine Hat, such as Redcliff and Bow Island, were much more likely to write about the lack of rain and to criticize Hatfield for it. But the *Medicine Hat News*, which had supported hiring the rainmaker from the outset, reported on what rainfall there was — its rain gauge was half full — and left Hatfield out of the discussion entirely. So, for example, on June 17 the *News* carried a front-page story about the showers across southern Alberta the night before, the headline calling it "Splendid Rainfall Which Will be of the Utmost Benefit to Crops." Yet the *Redcliff Review*, just ten kilometres outside Medicine Hat, did not even mention this specific rainfall in its next issue, instead asking bluntly, in regard to the more general dryness, "What's the matter with Hatfield? People around here are now losing all confidence in him, and are beginning to treat him as more or less of a joke."

Nevertheless, Hatfield limped over the August 1 finish line a winner. Early and late-season rains did not do the district's farmers much good: Crop yields were 4.6 bushels per acre across southern Alberta generally, a drop of one third from a bad 1920 season. But the late-July rains brought the summer rainfall total to 4.25 inches (106 millimetres), enough to earn him the full $8,000. Apparently of his own volition, Hatfield reduced his fee to $5,500.

That the rain did not fall, the crops failed, and still Hatfield had a major payday solidified opposition to him and his contract that autumn. Stupart shook his head and called it the "most absurd thing ever perpetrated in the West." The Dominion Experimental Farm, the journal *Nature*, and a variety of national and international scientific groups pointed out that, although the previous few summers had

TOP: ESPLANADE ARCHIVES 0897-0048. BOTTOM: THE JOURNAL OF SAN DIEGO HISTORY, WINTER 1970, VOLUME 16, NUMBER 1

Inventors have created many instruments to track the weather. Above from left: an alidade for measuring cloud height (circa 1940s); a zenith telescope for determining latitude (1872); an anemometer for measuring wind direction (late 1800s); a nocturnal for determining local time at night (circa 1670); a sunshine recorder (after 1958); and a manometer for measuring changes in atmospheric pressure (early 1950s).

SHOOTING THE BREEZE

The American author Mark Twain is said to have remarked: "Everybody talks about the weather, but nobody does anything about it."

Well, they sure have tried.

While weather modification was once focused entirely on making it rain, today it is centred principally on counteracting climate change. In 1965, when the United States President's Science Advisory Committee first warned that humans were increasing atmospheric carbon dioxide levels by burning fossil fuels, it also advised that people could jury-rig ways to offset this. Since then, countless climate engineering solutions have been bandied about by scientific groups, governments, and corporations.

Some ideas have focused on carbon capture or sequestration: pumping carbon dioxide into mines, spent oil reservoirs, or deep oceans; seeding the oceans with carbon-absorbing plankton; or dedicating more of the earth's land area to vast forests.

Others have called for solar radiation management: reducing the amount of sunlight (and thereby heat) that the earth receives and absorbs, thus counterbalancing the effects of global warming. This could involve anything from installing light-coloured roofing materials, to stirring up the oceans in order to produce highly reflective micro-bubbles, to placing mirrors in orbit. Or it could mean shooting millions of tonnes of sulfates into the atmosphere – replicating massive volcanic eruptions that send clouds of dust around the globe and thereby cool its temperature. Of course, none of these would be one-time solutions. We would have to continue them for as long as we keep burning fossil fuels.

Today's geoengineering strategies can seem as fanciful as rainmaking schemes of a century ago. But it is worth remembering that, even as Charles Hatfield was promising to change the weather, humans were already beginning to modify the climate, albeit unwittingly, through carbon dioxide emissions.

Everybody talks about the weather. As it turns out, we've all been doing something about it, too.

– Alan MacEachern

been excessively dry, Medicine Hat usually did receive more than four inches (one hundred millimetres) of rain — it had done so in twenty-seven of the previous thirty-seven years, in fact. Without doing anything, the rainmaker had a better than even chance of getting paid!

And, apparently, he did do nothing. The United States Weather Bureau calculated that, with only one exception, every time it rained that summer in Medicine Hat it also rained three hundred kilometres away — far from the influence of the supposed rainmaker. The *Bassano Mail* — the weekly newspaper of a small town 150 kilometres northwest of Medicine Hat — compared Hatfield to P.T. Barnum and Charles Ponzi and called those who had hired him suckers.

And yet the Medicine Hat UAA doubled down, declaring that it would hire the rainmaker again in 1922 and raise his fee to $3,000 per inch. The farmers blamed themselves for picking a location to the east of town — thus carrying Hatfield's rain out of the district and, worse, to Saskatchewan — and committed to work with him to find a better site to the west. It is entirely unclear why the members of the UAA continued to support Hatfield so vigorously that fall. Perhaps they did not want to admit to the world, or to themselves, that they had been hoodwinked. Perhaps they were just giving Hatfield safe passage out of town; when things died down that winter, they announced that Hatfield would not be returning after all. Or perhaps they were, to some degree, in on the con. Regarding the farmers' praise of the rainmaker, a man just back from Medicine Hat reported, "their tongue is in their cheek. It is true that Hatfield has been engaged for another year, but this is for the purpose of advertising the country, and making it possible for the present real estate owners to get rid of their land on favourable terms."

As for Charles Hatfield, he returned to California, telling newspapers there that his trip to Canada had been a smashing success. He said he had induced 5.5 inches (137 millimetres) of rain, and as a result there was a spectacular wheat crop yielding twenty-five to fifty bushels per acre. The wheat in the field grew "as thick as the hairs on a dog's back," the *Los Angeles Herald* reported. For his efforts, the newspaper said,

TOP LEFT TO RIGHT: INGENIUM 1987.0736.001; INGENIUM 1972.0376; INGENIUM 1987.0508.001; INGENIUM 1991.0020; INGENIUM 1964.0225.001; INGENIUM 2004.0363.001

18+

WHAT IS AVAXHOME?

AVAXHOME-

the biggest Internet portal, providing you various content: brand new books, trending movies, fresh magazines, hot games, recent software, latest music releases.

Unlimited satisfaction one low price
Cheap constant access to piping hot media
Protect your downloadings from Big brother
Safer, than torrent-trackers

18 years of seamless operation and our users' satisfaction

All languages
Brand new content
One site

AVXLIVE.ICU

AvaxHome - Your End Place

We have everything for all of your needs. Just open https://avxlive.icu

Above: Three children sit on an irrigation pipe drawing water from the South Saskatchewan River near Medicine Hat, Alberta, circa 1928.

Right: Charles Hatfield at age eighty-two, shortly before his death in January 1958.

the Canadians had been happy to pay Hatfield a fee in excess of $25,000 — which presumably set his price for future work.

With so few rain clouds, there were no silver linings: The farmers of southern Alberta continued to suffer terribly in the drought that persisted through 1922. More farms in the region were abandoned in the early 1920s than even during the Great Depression a decade later. As for Hatfield, his visit to the Hat turned out to be one of the final high points of his career. Although the media carried news of jurisdictions around the world calling out for his services throughout the 1920s, most of the commissions were never finalized or were just rumours in the first place. He returned to selling sewing machines.

Rainmaking did not dry up because of a growing cultural understanding or the acceptance of meteorological science but because of competition. Irrigation in Western Canada and the United States (and dam building in the United States in particular) produced a more dependable source of water, although it required much more infrastructure and planning. The farmers who had hired Hatfield in 1921 had also been well aware of irrigation's potential, and indeed the era saw the development of many failed irrigation schemes and the loss of much public and private investment. Rainmaking was an alternative. As a settler grumbled at a public hearing on irrigation a few months after Hatfield returned home, "sky water was cheaper."

While there was no rainmaking renaissance, irrigation eventually thrived. In 1949, while examining a sprinkler irrigation system being set up on one hundred farms in southern Alberta, the editor of the *Lethbridge Herald* recalled Charles Hatfield's visit to the area. A whirling spray of water was gushing from a pipe eight hundred metres long, soaking an area of more than two hectares. It was sunny out, but it was "raining" the equivalent of thirteen millimetres per hour. "It was the new style rainmaker at work," the newspaperman wrote. "Perhaps that man Hatfield started something after all."

FORECASTING TROUBLE

How Canada's first chief meteorologist took on the nerve-racking task of predicting the weather.

by Alan MacEachern

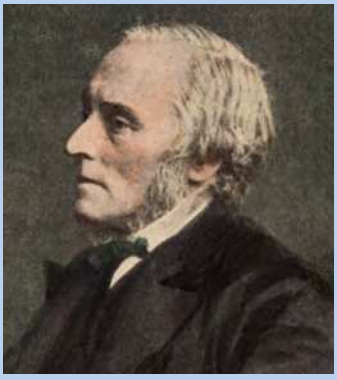
George T. Kingston was something of an accidental meteorologist. Having grown up in Portugal and Britain, he moved to Toronto in 1855 to take a promised university chair in natural philosophy – only to find that the position had been given to his brother-in-law. As a consolation, he was offered a job teaching meteorology and directing the University of Toronto's Magnetic and Meteorological Observatory, take it or leave it. He took it and was this country's premier meteorologist for the next quarter century.

Following Confederation in 1867, Kingston called for the creation of a national weather service. A number of European countries already had such agencies, after all, and when the United States established one in 1870 Kingston lobbied all the harder. He envisioned a service that would maintain a cross-Canada network of weather stations, compile daily observations, and, over time, improve understanding of Canada's weather and climate. It would have Toronto as its headquarters and, of course, himself as its head.

Kingston promoted his idea to several departments of the federal government, including Agriculture, because of the importance of weather to farmers, and the Secretary of State, because weather – and modern weather science – transcended national borders. It was Marine and Fisheries that, in the spring of 1871, accepted the proposal and committed $5,000 to it. This resulted in the establishment of the Meteorological Service of Canada (MSC), which celebrates its sesquicentennial this year.

Marine and Fisheries had one condition: The funds would be given "with a view of ultimately establishing storm signals" – in other words, predicting when and where storms would hit. The stipulation was understandable. The year before, 335 vessels had gone down in the Great Lakes or along the coasts, and 235 people had died. Canadian mariners, and indeed all Canadians, needed to know not just what the weather was but what it would be. The European and American weather services were already experimenting with weather

TOP LEFT: ESPLANADE ARCHIVES 0547-0003. LOWER: THE JOURNAL OF SAN DIEGO HISTORY, WINTER 1970, VOLUME 16, NUMBER 1



Left: The University of Toronto's Magnetic and Meteorological Observatory, built in 1855, seen here in 2009.

Above: George T. Kingston.

forecasting, so it seemed only natural that a new Canadian service should do the same.

Kingston strongly disagreed. He knew just how much work went into weather forecasting. It would require a system of trained observers, largely volunteer, taking precise measurements on calibrated instruments at the same time across Canada. That information would be forwarded by telegraph to the Toronto observatory, where it would be compiled and plotted on weather maps by "computers" – that is, young assistants – so that Kingston and his deputy could analyze the data, generate a forecast, and telegraph it across Canada. Then they would have to do it all over again, day after day.

It was a job of unrelenting public pressure: Some people would attack him for asserting foreknowledge of God's intentions, while many others would put their lives in his hands. Kingston would have been well aware that the British creator of the weather forecast, Robert FitzRoy, had killed himself in 1865. The Dutch meteorologist Buys Ballot concluded sadly at the time that "anyone who has to forecast the weather ... is in great danger of going off his head through nervous excitement." Kingston warned Marine and Fisheries bluntly that it would be "suicidal" for the new MSC to attempt weather forecasting before it built up sufficient expertise.

Nonetheless, he agreed to head the new service. In the first years, Kingston focused on building up an extensive national network and setting up a primitive storm-warning system, while holding off calls for more general forecasting. He oversaw the purchase and distribution of more than seven hundred meteorological instruments for observers who, until then, had for the most part used their own. He coaxed and cajoled ordinary Canadians in strategic places throughout the country to make daily weather observations – favouring lighthouse keepers, telegraph operators, and others with government positions who could be convinced to do the extra work for little or no extra payment. As Canada spread westward, Kingston ensured that the Meteorological Service did too. By the time he hired fifteen-year-old Robert Frederic Stupart as a "map drawer" in the Toronto office in 1872, the MSC network already involved more than one hundred weather stations. By the time Stupart himself resigned as MSC director fifty years later, there were almost eight hundred.

What finally pushed Kingston into weather prediction was what, until then, had allowed him to defer it: the United States Weather Bureau's more developed forecasting system. At the MSC's creation, there had been some hope that the two services would rely heavily on one another for weather data. But geography and the prevailing movement of weather systems meant that Canada simply needed the Americans more. For example, while the Maritimes benefited from knowing New England's weather, New England had no need for similar information from the Maritimes. For a time, Kingston forwarded storm warnings coming out of Washington to relevant Canadian locations. But he worried that the constant cost of telegraph communication to and from the United States would break the MSC's budget – and that the obvious utility of the American information might lead Canadians to think the MSC was redundant.

So, in the summer of 1876, the Meteorological Service of Canada began issuing its own "weather probabilities" for the next twenty-four hours. By that autumn, newspapers throughout Ontario and Quebec were publishing them. They seem to have been an immediate hit. The *Toronto Globe* carried an editorial admiring the new feature. Forecasting the weather, the writer stated, required an impressive blend of scientific knowledge and practical experience. With time, the editorial opined, "the probabilities will still further approach certainty." It is now 150 years since the founding of the MSC, and forecasts have gotten much more accurate while offering longer-range predictions. But they are still only approaching certainty.

As for Kingston, his doctor advised him in 1874 to take a sick leave from the strain of developing the meteorological network. But he persevered, retiring only in 1880 when his health deteriorated further. Unlike the unfortunate FitzRoy, when Kingston died some years later it was of natural causes.

TOP LEFT: RAYSON HO. TOP RIGHT: TORONTO PUBLIC LIBRARY

CREATURE COMFORTERS

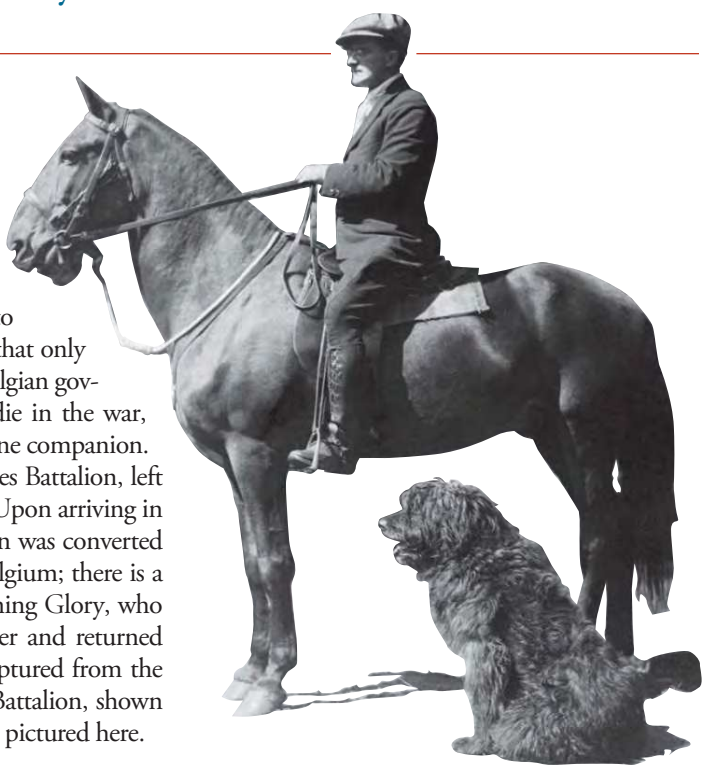
We salute some famous – and some not-so-famous – animals from Canada's past.

by Nancy Payne

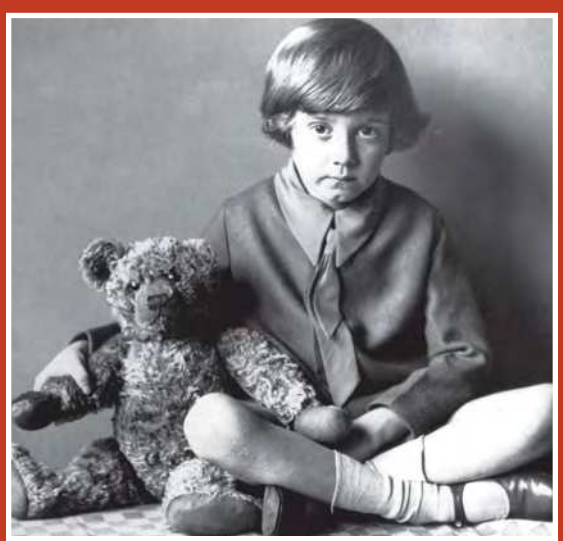
From prime ministers to army privates, people of all ranks and stations adore their animal companions. Pets and working beasts have inspired acts of compassion, conservation, and sometimes even artistic greatness. Furred, feathered, or fetlocked, here are a few animals that have pawed, prowled, and pranced their way into Canadian history.

WARHORSES

Roughly one out of every ten horses the Allies used in the First World War came from Canada — about 130,000 in all. The Toronto Police Force's mounted unit sent eighteen, of which only Bunny, a strawberry roan that saw action at Vimy Ridge, survived. Although the city offered to pay Bunny's way home after the war, the military decided that only officers' horses would be returned, and he was sold to the Belgian government. The only Canadian Member of Parliament to die in the war, Lieutenant-Colonel George Harold Baker, also had an equine companion. Baker, who commanded the Fifth Canadian Mounted Rifles Battalion, left Quebec on July 18, 1915, with his horse, Morning Glory. Upon arriving in Europe, Baker was separated from his horse, as his battalion was converted to infantry and sent to the trenches. Baker was killed in Belgium; there is a statue of him in the House of Commons in Ottawa. Morning Glory, who worked behind the lines in France, was given to an officer and returned home after the war. The horse pictured here, Fritz, was captured from the Germans. Lieutenant Colonel C.E. Bent of the Fifteenth Battalion, shown astride Fritz, adopted the horse and a sheepdog, Bruno, also pictured here.



DONALD E. BENT FAMILY



TOP: ALAMY/P4988E. BOTTOM: ALAMY/D99ATM

BELOVED BEAR

Military veterinarian Lieutenant Harry Colebourn was on his way to the First World War training camp in Valcartier, Quebec, in 1914 when his train stopped in White River, Ontario. There he met and bought a friendly seven-month-old female black bear cub. Colebourn named the bear Winnipeg — soon shortened to Winnie — after his hometown. The playful bear, pictured above with Colebourn, became the mascot for the Second Canadian Infantry Brigade. The troops treated Winnie as a pet and took her with them to England. When the brigade left for France in 1915, Colebourn took Winnie to the London Zoo for safekeeping. Seeing how beloved she became, he donated her permanently in 1919. That's where author A.A. Milne and his son, Christopher Robin, pictured left, got to know her — an acquaintanceship that led to Milne's famous Winnie the Pooh books. There's a statue and plaque to Winnie in the zoo to this day.

GREY OWL, BROWN BEAVERS

While the beaver, writ large, is central to the story of Canada, no individual beavers are better known than Jelly Roll and Rawhide. Their tale is interwoven with that of Archibald Belaney, the Englishman who called himself Grey Owl, so the facts can be slippery. The most common version says that Belaney caught the kits' mother in his trapline. His Mohawk partner, Gertrude Bernard, persuaded him to spare the little rodents, who became pets. A 1930 National Film Board short, *Beaver Family*, even chronicled their lodge-building skills. Jelly Roll and Rawhide lived with Belaney and Bernard, first in Manitoba's Riding Mountain National Park and then in Prince Albert National Park in Saskatchewan. Grey Owl is seen above, feeding one of the baby beavers from a bottle. The bark-chewing duo probably inspired the human couple's work to conserve Canada's national animal.

PAINTER'S PET

Among Emily Carr's many companion animals, she retained a special affection for her Javanese macaque monkey, Woo, pictured here with her in 1930. Carr obtained the monkey in 1923 from a pet shop in downtown Victoria. The monkey "named herself" on her first night in Carr's home, with her "sad wailing, 'Woo, woo, woo,'" Carr wrote in her story collection *The Heart of a Peacock*. Woo had her own corner in Carr's studio and may have inspired the artist's creativity. "Some of Woo's stupid critics might well have learned, from my monkey, ingenuity, thoroughness," Carr wrote. "Every object must be felt, smelt, tasted, pulled to pieces before her curiosity was satisfied." When Carr fell ill in 1937, Woo was sent to live at Vancouver's Stanley Park Zoo.

TOP: LOYAT DICKSON COLLECTION / LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA / PA-147582. BOTTOM: ROYAL BC MUSEUM AND ARCHIVES I-61505

PAT, PAT, PAT

"It is so true, and strange that having all in the eyes of the world as prime minister, Pat alone seems to be the one life I truly possess," Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King wrote in his diary on July 12, 1941. Pat was King's beloved Irish terrier — well, one of them. Neighbours Godfroy and Joan Patteson gave King the first Pat — "the truest friend I ever had" — in 1924. The dog, pictured here with King, lived seventeen years. When Pat fell ill in 1940, King postponed a cabinet meeting to be by his side. In his book *Being Prime Minister,* J.D.M. Stewart quotes a King aide as saying that the prime minister looked favourably on anyone Pat liked, "from Cabinet ministers on down." In 1941 the same couple gave King the second Pat, who died six years later. King's private secretary, Edouard Handy, provided the third Pat, who was given away after King died in 1950. Regardless of whether, as rumoured, he consulted his dogs on matters of state, King sang to, read to, and walked with all of his treasured Pats. Present-day visitors to the Mackenzie King Estate — King's summer home in the Gatineau hills north of Ottawa — can enjoy tea and scones at Café Pat.

YOUSUF KARSH / LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA / PA-174058

LITERARY HOUND

The beloved tearjerker *Beautiful Joe*, by Margaret Marshall Saunders, told the story of a real dog, pictured above, who was rescued by a kind family after his original owner had cut off his ears and tail. In 1892, Saunders, shown at right, submitted a heart-rending story about him to an American Humane Education Society contest (under the name Marshall Saunders) and won. The book followed the next year, and by the 1930s it had sold seven million copies. A bronze statue of Beautiful Joe stands in the eponymous park in Meaford, Ontario, where he is buried.

TOP: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA/4921901; BOTTOM: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA/4921902

DOVE OF WAR

When the first wave of Canadian troops landed at Dieppe, France, on the morning of August 19, 1942, the news made its way out not via telephone or telegraph, or even on board a ship. Rather, it was entrusted to Beachcomber the carrier pigeon, pictured here in retirement in England in 1943. Canadian troops released the bird with the message attached to his leg. Beachcomber, a member of the British Army Pigeon Service, flew through an intense aerial battle and delivered the information safely to British commanders in England, according to the official citation that accompanied his 1944 Dickin Medal, an award sometimes referred to as the "animal Victoria Cross."

INFANTRY UNGULATE

When a group of soldiers from Western Canada stopped in the small town of Broadview, Saskatchewan, en route to joining the Fifth Battalion, Canadian Expeditionary Force, in Valcartier, Quebec, a family gave them a goat named Bill. The troops dubbed their new mascot Sergeant Bill and snuck him first to England and then, in 1915, to the front lines in France. Arrested twice — once for eating paperwork — the goat later distinguished himself by standing guard over a Prussian soldier in a crater, despite his own injuries. Another time he butted three Canadians into a trench seconds before a shell exploded where they'd been standing. Sergeant Bill lived through battles at Vimy Ridge and Festubert in France and at Ypres and Passchendaele in Belgium, enduring gassing, shelling, and trench foot — or, in his case, trench hoof. He was awarded a sergeant's chevrons as well as the Mons Star, the British War Medal, and the Victory Medal. He is shown below, in his finery, with an unidentified member of the Fifth Battalion. Despite a commanding officer who wanted him left behind and an immigration official who was reluctant to allow him back into Canada, Sergeant Bill paraded with his brothers-in-arms back in Saskatchewan, where he was returned to his family. He died soon after but was preserved and mounted, and he now stands behind glass in the Broadview Historical Museum.

TOP: HARRY SHEPHERD/FOX PHOTOS/HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES; BOTTOM: SASKATCHEWAN ARCHIVES/R-A10210(1)(2)

LITTLE CHAMPION

Born in 1961, Northern Dancer was too small by horse-racing standards to be considered a competitor. When nobody bid on the horse as a yearling, owner Edward Plunkett Taylor turned him over to legendary trainer Horatio Luro, who saw the little bay's potential. On May 2, 1964, Northern Dancer became the first Canadian horse to win the Kentucky Derby, where he set a record. He is shown below, centre right, with jockey Bill Hartack, reaching the Kentucky Derby finish line a neck ahead of Hill Rise, left, ridden by Willie Shoemaker. After the Derby, Northern Dancer won the Preakness Stakes, finished third in the Belmont Stakes (the last part of horse racing's triple crown), and came home to win Canada's most prestigious race, the Queen's Plate, by seven lengths. In all, Northern Dancer won fourteen of eighteen races in his thirteen-month career. He went out to stud at the end of 1964 due to an injured tendon and is still considered the greatest sire in the history of racing. Thousands of thoroughbred racehorses are his descendants. In 1965, Northern Dancer became the first animal to be inducted into Canada's Sports Hall of Fame.

GETTY 150352266

LION-HEARTED DOG

This Newfoundland dog made a noble sacrifice amid the brutal fight to maintain British control of Hong Kong against Japanese invasion in 1941. Gander was given to the Quebec City-based Royal Rifles of Canada by a civilian family when the regiment was stationed at Gander airport in Newfoundland. During the Battle of Lye Mun in December, 1941, Gander defended the Canadian soldiers fiercely, protecting wounded men and repelling attackers. When an enemy soldier tossed a grenade, Gander grabbed it in his mouth and ran off, saving the troops who loved him at the cost of his own life. He received the Dickin Medal posthumously in October 2000. There is a statue of the heroic dog in Gander Heritage Memorial Park in Gander, and his name is listed on the Defence of Hong Kong Memorial Wall in Ottawa. The print of Gander, left, was made from a pen-and-ink sketch drawn by Charles Frederick Lalonde, formerly of the Royal Canadian Navy, to commemorate the sixtieth anniversary of the defence of Hong Kong.

GUARDIAN GOOSE

The story goes that a sentry of the British Army's Second Battalion Coldstream Guards (they of the towering bearskin hats), on duty in Quebec City circa 1838, saved a goose that was being attacked by a fox. Afterwards, the white goose, similar to the one pictured at left, often marched alongside the men at the same post. The soldiers named the goose Jacob. A few months later, when enemies armed with knives snuck up on a sentry, Jacob honked the alarm and rushed at them. For his service, Jacob was awarded a spiffy golden gorget. (Given that the enemy attackers were likely Patriotes rebelling against British colonial occupation, the story may not sound so heroic to Canadian ears.) When the regiment returned to England in 1842, Jacob came along, only to be run over in the street in 1846. His preserved head and the gorget are still on display at the Guards Museum in London.

TOP: HONG KONG VETERANS COMMEMORATIVE ASSOCIATION/CHARLES FREDERICK LALONDE. BOTTOM LEFT: © HORIZONFEATURES/BRIDGEMAN IMAGES/HFE4458699. BOTTOM RIGHT: SIOBHAN GREALIS

RETROPETS

We asked readers to send us their stories and photos of pets from the past. You responded with many fond memories, like the tale of Brandy the "Grabador Retriever," pictured below with Tanya Grealis, left, and her sister Siobhan Grealis. To read about Brandy and other pets, or to submit your own story and photo, please visit CanadasHistory.ca/Retropets.

Isaiah Helmer of the Staastas Eagle Clan wears his Haida dancing regalia while standing beside the shoreline on Haida Gwaii, B.C.

MARY HELMER

DE-NAMING BRITISH COLUMBIA

The province owes its alias to a colonial power and a murderous American sea captain. It's time for a conversation about the name British Columbia.

by Ry Moran

THAT BRITISH COLUMBIA'S COLONIAL origins are apparent and embedded within the very names of this place is not a shocking revelation. Princess Louisa Inlet, Chatham Islands, Prince Rupert, and the provincial capital of Victoria are but a few of the echoes of colonial imposition of name and title upon these lands.

The existence of these names today is a reflection of the principle of *terra nullius* — a European legal fiction which held that land not occupied by Christians was vacant — and the Doctrine of Discovery — a set of principles decreed by fifteenth-century Roman Catholic popes which empowered European rulers to claim such land for themselves.

Since the earliest days of European voyages to the lands known as the Americas, conceptions of political, religious, cultural, and legal superiority of colonial powers were deeply intermeshed with highly racist and demeaning presumptions about Indigenous peoples the world over.

But what about the very name of this province itself? Although the colonial origins of the first part of the name — British — are obvious, how many of us know that we owe the second part of the name — Columbia — to a ship captained by an American fur trader, whose brief visit to our shores brought about the destruction of an entire Nuu-chah-nulth community and wrought murder up and down the coast of present-day B.C.?

How many of us who live in the province are reflecting on what is wrapped up in the words that identify both the territory that we inhabit and the name that we call ourselves — British Columbians — as a collective?

As we reflect on the past one hundred and fifty years of B.C.'s history as part of Canadian Confederation, it is equally important to reflect on what the next one hundred and fifty years might look like. What are the consequences of failing to look hard at our collective identity in this time of truth telling and reconciliation?

To answer this question, we need to unpack what is layered within the name British Columbia.

Long before the place now called British Columbia was claimed by a foreign power and named after a murderer's ship (more on this later), these territories were known by countless different and overlapping Indigenous names. These names, preserved and cherished by Elders and Knowledge Keepers but suppressed through assimilative systems like the residential schools, are now resurfacing.

In 2009, the Queen Charlotte Islands were officially stripped of their colonial moniker and given the name Haida Gwaii as part of a historic reconciliation agreement between the province and the Haida Nation. The name means "islands of the people" in the Haida language.

An agreement struck between the Skwxwú7mesh (Squamish) Nation and the B.C. government prior to the 2010 Winter Olympics in Vancouver and Whistler, B.C., saw Skwxwú7mesh place names added to road signs along the province's famed Sea-to-Sky Highway. Other efforts such as the 2001 *Stó:lō-Coast Salish Historical Atlas*, which documents fifteen thousand years of natural, cultural, and spiritual history of the Coast Salish People, and the important work documenting WSÁNEĆ (Saanich) place names on the lands surrounding greater Victoria are but a few of the countless examples of community-led efforts to accurately depict the names of these territories.

Despite these efforts to enable Indigenous place names to resurface, we have yet to engage in a broad public conversation about the origins of the name of the province itself.

In early May 1792, the 213-tonne, three-masted sailing ship *Columbia Rediviva*, under the command of American Captain Robert Gray, navigated treacherous sandbars to enter the mouth of a great, wide river located at a northern latitude of approximately forty-six degrees on the Pacific coast of North America.

Spending eight days navigating up the river, the crew of the *Columbia Rediviva* met hundreds of Indigenous people along its lower stretches and traded goods with them for furs. Understanding the potential the waterway held for future exploitation, Gray named the river after his vessel and sent word of it to other sea captains trading along the Pacific coast, as he continued his travels around the world. The name of the Columbia River stands to this day as a testament both to his voyage and to the hallucination of discovery embedded in much of our collective history.

Digging into the history of the *Columbia Rediviva* reveals a highly problematic record — one filled not only with a lust for furs and wealth but with murder and violence wrought upon Indigenous peoples up and down the Pacific coast.

The journals of a young fifth mate named John Boit document the voyages of the *Columbia Rediviva* through the territories of many Indigenous nations, including the Nuu-chah-nulth, Kwakwaka'wakw, Haida, Tsimshian, and Chinook. Those same journals document a path of bloodshed up and down the coast, where the *Columbia Rediviva* and her sister ship, the *Lady Washington*, captained by John Kendrick, travelled.

Boit recounts Gray's orders of January 1792 for three heavily armed boats launched from the *Columbia Rediviva* to destroy two hundred houses in Opitsaht — a community of Tla-o-qui-aht people (part of the Nuu-chah-nulth First Nation) on the west side of Vancouver Island. The crew members also kidnapped the son of Tla-o-qui-aht Chief Wickaninnish. The attack was ordered not in retaliation for aggression by the Tla-o-qui-aht people but merely out of fear of a possible attack.

"This fine village, the work of Ages, was in a short time totally destroy'd," reads the journal, depicting not only the destruction of homes but of memories, cultural property, Indigenous archives, and sacred objects. Other chilling passages document incidents where entire canoes of twenty to thirty people were blown out of the water by cannon fire — incidents in which the crew of the *Columbia Rediviva* "no doubt kill'd every soul." Further passages record the indiscriminate killing of "upwards of fifty" of "the Natives at Barrells Sound in Queen Charlotte Isles."

While acts of resistance by Indigenous peoples were noted throughout the journals — including the killing of some members of trade vessels plying the waters of the coast — the clear and unambiguous pattern is one where resistance by Indigenous peoples was met with force,

Left: Tla-o-qui-aht traditional territory is on Vancouver Island, B.C.

Below: The Tla-o-qui-aht village of Opitsaht, B.C., today.

TOP LEFT: MATTHEW SCHELLENBERG. BOTTOM: TLA-O-QUI-AHT.ORG

Above: This 1938 mural by Frank Schwarz and Barry Faulkner hangs in the State Capitol building in Salem, Oregon. It depicts the artists' conception of the 1792 encounter between Captain Robert Gray, centre right, and Indigenous people, far right, near the mouth of the Columbia River. To Gray's left, a sailor plants an American flag. The *Columbia Rediviva* floats in the background.

Far left: A Nuu-chah-nulth Chief, drawn by German-American journalist and artist Rudolf Cronau circa 1882.

Left: Canoes surround the *Columbia Rediviva* in this ink wash painting entitled *Attackted (sic) at Juan De Fuca Straits*, by the ship's illustrator George Davidson, circa 1793–95.

TOP: LIFE, AUGUST 14, 1939. LOWER LEFT: BUFFALO BILL CENTRE OF THE WEST MS51.071. LOWER CENTRE: OREGON HISTORICAL SOCIETY LIBRARY MSS957_B1F19_001

attack, and murder at an overwhelmingly disproportionate scale. The death of a single crew member would result in the death of fifty Indigenous people. The journals depict a chilling disregard for Indigenous life: Lives were casually and frequently wiped out in the absence of a rigorous code of conduct, beyond the fraught relations between Indigenous nations attempting to protect their lands and Western nations pursing their colonial aspirations and intentions.

During the time of Gray's voyage up the river that he named Columbia, the boundaries of territories claimed by the newly independent United States of America and rival European powers were still very much in flux. In fact, despite being named by an American captain, the Columbia River — flowing two thousand kilometres from its source in the Kootenay region of the Rocky Mountains to its mouth on the Pacific coast — emerged as an integral part of British commercial and colonial aspirations in the ensuing decades.

British Captain George Vancouver sailed into the river's estuary just a few months after Gray departed in 1792. In 1825, the Hudson's Bay Company constructed Fort Vancouver on the north bank of the river, one hundred and fifty kilometres inland from the Pacific Ocean. It became the company's regional headquarters, the centre of all trading and shipping operations west of the Rocky Mountains.

At that time, Britain and the United States had not agreed on the boundary between what they considered British versus American territory west of the Rocky Mountains. Few non-Indigenous people lived in the Pacific Northwest at the turn of the nineteenth century, but that was beginning to change with American settlers pouring over the Rockies into the territory they called Oregon. Proponents of America's manifest destiny — a belief that white American settlers were destined by God to expand across the entire North American continent — wanted to extend American territory as far north as the fifty-fourth parallel and beyond. Meanwhile, the British government wanted to secure the area north of the forty-ninth parallel for British commerce and settlement. This involved both halting American expansion and deal-

Left: The Columbia River near Trail, B.C. Right: A map of the Columbia River watershed.

ing with the continuing impediment posed by Indigenous peoples in the eyes of the colonial powers.

Negotiations between the British and American governments resulted in the Oregon Treaty of 1846, by which the two colonial powers agreed that the border along the forty-ninth parallel, which had already been established east of the Rockies, would extend westward to the Pacific coast. Hence, the area of land crossed by the mighty Columbia River, west of the spine of the Rockies and north of the forty-ninth parallel, became "British Columbia."

In September 1858, the legal regime that applied to these territories was formalized through letters of instruction sent by the colonial offices in London to HBC Governor James Douglas, authorizing him to "declare that English Law is in force in British Columbia." In 1866 the British colony of Vancouver Island united with the mainland, and in 1871 British Columbia joined Canadian Confederation. The imposition of English law in these territories gave rise to waves of legislation and law-making that systematically and intentionally displaced Indigenous legal traditions while also being used as a mechanism to attack the human rights of Indigenous peoples of the coast. The instructions to Douglas thus marked the official birth of the colony of British Columbia and the corresponding formalization of its entry into the history of human rights violations.

Sir James Douglas.

On July 18, 2005, more than two hundred years after the destruction of the village of Opitsaht by the *Columbia Rediviva*, a tall wooden ship sailed into the waters off Tla-o-qui-aht Sound. On board were the descendants of Captain Robert Gray. Tla-o-qui-aht Keeper of the Beach and Chief Counsellor Barney Williams stood on shore to welcome them to land. Hundreds of Nuu-chah-nulth youth, Elders, and community members were present. In the ceremony that followed, Gray's descendants apologized for "the abduction and insult to your Chief and his great family and for the burning of Opitsaht." This marked an important recognition of the harms inflicted upon that community so many years prior — harms that remained in the community's collective memory.

For Williams, this event was the first of two important apologies within the span of three short years. The second apology took place in the distant halls of Ottawa, where officials gathered in a solemn event in the House of Commons on June 11, 2008, to offer a national apology for the terrible abuse, harm, and pain inflicted on generations of children in residential schools. For Williams, this apology struck close to home. As a child, he, like so many others from Nuu-chah-nulth lands, had found himself locked as a student inside the Christie Indian Residential School (also known as the Kakawis Residential School) on Meares Island, B.C., only a few kilometres away from Opitsaht. Through no choice of his own, he was later shuffled to the Kamloops residential school — the very same school where the bodies of 215 children were found in an unmarked grave a short time ago.

These two apologies, issued just a few years apart, helped to reveal the buried events and tragedies that lay within the history of British Columbia and Canada.

Thirsty for control over the land, and driven by a desire to remove the power of Indigenous peoples, those who asserted first British, then Canadian, legal authority used that author-

TOP LEFT: KARI MEDIG/DESTINATION BC. TOP RIGHT: MATTHEW SCHELLENBERG. BOTTOM: ROYAL BC MUSEUM PDP00090

After 200 years, apology for a fur trader

Family visits band

U.S. ancestor burned Indian village and abducted chief's son

KEVEN DREWS
CANADIAN PRESS

TOFINO, B.C. – Descendants of a U.S. fur trader who burned an Indian village and kidnapped the son of a local chief 200 years ago have apologized for their forefather's actions.

This weekend, William Twombly, a direct descendant of Capt. Robert Gray, forged a new relationship with the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation – just by saying sorry.

The apology took place on a sunny Saturday afternoon, aboard the Lady Washington, about one kilometre off Tofino's MacKenzie Beach, on the West Coast of Vancouver Island.

There, the Lady Washington – carrying Twombly family members visiting from London, England, Texas, New Hampshire and Massachusetts – pulled alongside three cedar canoes, carrying local chiefs.

"We are sorry for the abduction and insult to your chief and his great family and for the burning of Opitsaht," said Twombly of Corvallis, Ore.

"We have heard your words and accept," answered Barney Williams Jr., the band's chief councillor and beach keeper.

"I feel relieved," said Twombly after the apology.

"It's actually hard to put into words. I feel excited. I feel honoured."

PHOTOS: KEVEN DREWS CANADIAN PRESS

Joe Martin, of the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation, performs a hereditary chief's dance at Opitsaht, B.C., Saturday before dignitaries and guests including the Twombly family, descendants of a U.S. fur trader who burned an Indian village and kidnapped the son of a local chief 200 years ago. They have apologized for their forefather's actions and forged a new relationship with the Tla-o-qui-aht.

Top left: A Canadian Press article about the apology in 2005 for the destruction of Opitsaht, B.C., in 1792. The photo depicts Joe Martin of the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation performing a hereditary chief's dance at Opitsaht.

Top right: William Twombly, left, a descendant of Captain Robert Gray, talks to Les Bolton, executive director of the Grays Harbour Historical Seaport Authority, aboard the *Lady Washington* in Clayoquot Sound, B.C.

Centre left: Barney Williams is now Elder in Residence at Victoria Island University.

Centre right: Assembly of First Nations Chief Phil Fontaine and Beverley Jacobs, head of the Native Women's Association of Canada, look toward the gallery in the House of Commons in Ottawa on June 11, 2008, moments before Prime Minister Stephen Harper's formal apology on behalf of the Canadian government for residential schools.

Bottom Left: Christie Indian Residential School (also known as Kakawis Residential School) on Meares Island, B.C.

Bottom right: Indigenous children kneel in a dormitory in the Christie Indian Residential School.

TOP LEFT: NEWSPAPER.COM/MONTREAL GAZETTE, TUESDAY, JULY 19, 2005. TOP RIGHT: NEWSPAPER.COM/MONTREAL GAZETTE, TUESDAY, JULY 19, 2005. CENTRE LEFT: VICTORIA ISLAND UNIVERSITY. CENTRE RIGHT: FRED CHARTRAND /CANADIAN PRESS. BOTTOM LEFT: UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA PACIFIC MOUNTAIN REGION ARCHIVES BCCA 2759-8. BOTTOM RIGHT: DESCHÂTELETS-NOTRE-DAME-DU-CAP ARCHIVES 10A-C000431-D0048-001

ity as a weapon against Indigenous peoples through layers upon layers of statutes and legislation. The 1876 *Indian Act* — the very act that went on to mandate the attendance of young children like Barney Williams in residential schools and that threatened parents with fines or jail for resisting — laid a legal foundation that persists to the present.

The *Indian Act* remains law in Canada today, although it has been amended several times between 1951 and 2017 to remove some of the most egregious and outwardly racist elements, such as the ban on cultural and religious ceremonies; the prohibition of voting rights; prohibitions against assembling in a group of three or larger; provisions under which Indigenous women and their children lost their "Indian" status if they married non-Indigenous men; the power to force children into residential schools; and various other provisions that violated human rights and that were made possible through the assertion of colonial legal orders, coupled with the displacement of Indigenous legal orders.

B.C. is beautiful, without a doubt. But it's not British; it never was.

The attacks on Opitsaht by the *Columbia Rediviva* continued the pattern established by the fifteenth-century explorer Christopher Columbus himself — the constant, looming, and ever-present threat of violence, should Indigenous peoples assert their inherent rights in a manner displeasing to the occupying powers who desired their lands and resources.

In 2008, responding to its national mandate, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada commenced its complex and painstaking journey of uncovering not only what occurred in the residential schools but also the origins of the system and the legacy left in its wake. Central in this was the recognition that the concept of *terra nullius*, the Doctrine of Discovery, and the imposition of colonial law formed a mutually reinforcing web that permitted the destructive violence perpetuated through the residential schools. The path of healing, the commission stated, led forward through an embrace of human rights by upholding the articles of the 2007 United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

Yet we continue to live in a province where every child's birth certificate is inscribed with the name British Columbia. Each and every vehicle licence plate is marked with the words. Our legislature proclaims the histories of both Britain and the *Columbia Rediviva* in its name and its laws. Each and every one of us in British Columbia carries the histories of the *Columbia Rediviva* and the destruction of Opitsaht in our identity. So, too, do we carry the displacement of Indigenous nations, law, practice, and custom in our maintenance and ongoing acceptance of Britain's place within the name and laws of these territories.

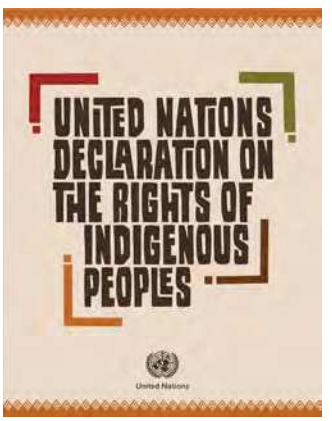
It is time to look hard at the words spoken in those apologies and to reconsider the names by which we choose to identify the populace of these lands. At the very least, these names direct us to a history of bloodshed and violence that is deeply enmeshed in our collective history — one that is shared, one that remains submerged, but one that has already required repentance, apology, and contrition.

If this indeed is the history we bear within the name of our province, then must we not ask, what actions must follow these apologies? It is not enough simply to acknowledge the violence without making the necessary changes. We must discuss — with the benefit of the histories of Indigenous peoples present — whether this history of the extension of British law and the violence inflicted by the *Columbia Rediviva* is how we want to identify ourselves. If we are serious about reconciliation, it's time to have the conversation about how we choose to identify ourselves as a collective moving forward.

If a change of the name of this province is indeed in order, what process might be adopted, and what might a name be? Would a province-wide referendum be an option, for example? Unfortunately, a referendum may, by its very nature, provide power to an entrenched majority while sidelining other communities that deserve equity as they seek to redress historic injustices.

As a case in point, in 2002 the B.C. government conducted a province-wide referendum under the guise of giving "the people of British Columbia" what B.C. Attorney General Geoff Plant called "a direct voice in the principles that should guide the province's treaty negotiations" with First Nations. Disturbingly, that referendum, with only one third of voters casting ballots, resulted in eighty-percent support for the B.C. government's position. At the time, that position was out of step with certain federal laws, with recommendations issued by the 1996 Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, and with the broad trajectory towards recognizing and affirming Indigenous human rights at the United Nations.

In exploring what a future name of this province might be, we must be aware of, and on guard against, a majority colonial-rule situation wherein the voices of Indigenous peoples and other historically silenced peoples are once again minimized. Herein, the province's newly emerging legal landscape may provide direction. In 2019, B.C. became the first jurisdiction in Canada to pass legislation upholding the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). The declaration enshrines the right of Indigenous peoples to "designate and retain their own names for communities, places, and persons" while also affirming the positive responsibility of states to "combat prejudice and eliminate discrimination and to promote tolerance, understanding and good relations among



Above: Jusquan Bedard adds final touches to the Gwaii Haanas legacy totem pole before it is raised in Windy Bay, Haida Gwaii, B.C., on August 15, 2013.

Far left: First Nations youth take part in an Idle No More march in Ottawa in 2013.

Left: The front cover of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

TOP: DARRYL DYCK/CANADIAN PRESS. BOTTOM LEFT: JULIE OLIVER/OTTAWA CITIZEN. BOTTOM RIGHT: WWW.UN.ORG

Indigenous Peoples and all other segments of society."

Together these articles provide direction to ensure both that Indigenous peoples are empowered to have traditional place names reflected in maps, museums, and textbooks and that the province upholds their right to do so.

Determining a new collective identity — one that encompasses multiple nations and territories — is a tall order. The process here is what counts; the dialogue is central. Who's at the table and whose voices are heard is of critical importance.

If we are to retain the territorial boundaries of B.C. as we know it, we must ensure that multiple Indigenous nations are included in this discussion. Choosing to live together in a good way means that the discussions must also include not only the mainstream majority but also other groups, such as the countless migrants to these shores who were historically excluded from our legislatures, textbooks, and policy-making structures.

I do not have a perfect idea of what the new name of British Columbia should be — and, frankly, it could never and should never be up to a single person to decide.

But this conversation isn't just about a name — it's about how we choose to live together collectively, whose histories we listen to, and whose human rights we respect. Questioning the name of British Columbia is about how we choose to identify ourselves and whether we have the courage to continue to examine our human rights history on the coast.

B.C. is beautiful, without a doubt. But it's not British; it never was. In maintaining that myth we continue in the erasure, not only of the complex histories of multiple Indigenous nations but also of the lives and histories of the countless migrants from around the world who have played an instrumental role in the foundation of this place.

I, for one, am not interested in celebrating the history of the *Columbia Rediviva* any longer.

Let's open a dialogue about how we want to build a society worthy of celebration — not apology — one hundred and fifty years from now.

A Chinese work gang along the Canadian Pacific Railway tracks west of Rogers Pass, B.C., in 1889.

BY WILLIAM NOTMAN AND SON. COURTESY OF LIBRARIES AND CULTURAL RESOURCES DIGITAL COLLECTIONS, UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

OPEN BOOK

Speaking for his compatriots

After travelling from his village in China to Portland, Oregon, Dukesang Wong accepted work on the Canadian Pacific Railway and journeyed in 1881 to "the Saltwater City" of New Westminster, then the largest city on the B.C. mainland. The diaries he maintained both in China and in western North America — "the Land of the Golden Mountains" — record his many gruelling experiences, his shock and bemusement at certain Western ways, and his appreciation for the land and for many of the people he encountered.

After working several years to save money, Wong established himself in a tailoring business in New Westminster and returned to China to bring Lin, who had been promised years earlier as his future wife. His diaries were eventually destroyed in a fire, but his granddaughter Wanda Joy Hoe had translated portions of them as part of her university studies, and selections have now been published as The Diary of Dukesang Wong: A Voice from Gold Mountain. *They're described as "the only known first-person account by a Chinese worker on the construction of the CPR."*

The following passages were written during Wong's first difficult years in British Columbia. As editor David McIlwraith notes, "Wong rarely mentions the names of the towns and villages he travelled through and worked in." Life as part of a railway work crew was often exceedingly difficult, and a head tax on Chinese immigrants to Canada was initiated in 1885. Yet Wong's perceptions of life in his new land change as he foresees the possibility of establishing himself in Canada and as he rues the violence happening in his homeland.

A land already full of sadness

by Dukesang Wong

Autumn 1881

It is hard, this labouring, but my body seems to be strong enough. The people working with me are good, strong men. There are many of us working here, but the laying of the railroad progresses very slowly. It seems we move two stones a day! And they want this railway built across these high mountains, some two thousand miles! Even over the plains of our homeland, such railways took over a generation to build, so I can imagine these white people will face failed dreams. …

I have been honoured today. The Chinese workers have elected me as their spokesman with the contractor, to speak of our good deeds. I am truly surprised that the workers did not choose Chen [Wong's friend],

since he is more proficient in English. I can speak much better in the learned language of our people, but English is hard to speak. However, I must try to obtain better medicine and food for us to eat. We won't be strong if we do not have enough food in our stomachs.

Spring 1882
Many Chinese people are here now, working on this railway. Some are from the Big City and many others are from Kwangchow and the Canton area, speaking in their village language. It is a little difficult to be a spokesman for them, as their language is hard to understand, and they aren't able to write. Chen has returned to his home village. I miss his company, and I would also like to return to our homeland.

Yesterday, I returned from Victoria. It is a beautiful and clean city compared to this town in the mountains. I became known to the Indians here during the trip, and their help in the return journey was great. They are solitary people, but they know the land so well. My experience is so limited in those small boats in which it is so hard to travel. How I wished to have a horse to ride!

I despair at being able to save so little these days, but the small garden Chen left in my care has been helping my food supply. How good the fresh green vegetables taste. If only it was warm enough, I could become truly well by eating fresh food.

Early Autumn 1883
My soul cries out. I wish I had never experienced such bad days as those in which we now live. Many of our people have been so very ill for such a long time, and there has been no medicine nor good food to give them. Even the strongest of us are weak without medicine to fight against these diseases, which spread very rapidly. It is such a sorrowful sight. The white doctor has told us the illnesses come from lack of fresh food, but we cannot grow any fresh food, as all of us, including the white people, are moving constantly with the work we have to do. The good doctor has gone to the larger town in search of better food for the very ill, but I am afraid that the medicines will not arrive here to these poor gutter-shelters. I would have liked to accompany him, but my body does not have the strength or desire.

These are troubled times for us Chinese. There has been word among the employing company that we are not good workers and do not work enough for the schedules and plans of the railway owners. How does anyone work when so ill? Many are killed when such words are spoken, and we are becoming more like dogs biting at one another. My meagre attempts at talking about being humble and waiting for better days are senseless. My words mean less than nothing. I am of so little help to everyone.

These mighty lands are great to gaze upon, but the laws made here are so small

The frost has fallen early and only the bok choy survives in my boxes. I wonder when I shall have laboured enough to journey back to my home village. Perhaps I will not ever be able to return, but how I long for those childhood days. Chen has sent words that tell of turmoil in China, but he does not say where.

1885
I am truly alone amid the dying. The leaders of the white people demand money — our poor savings — taken from we who have so little, given to those who are not so taxed. Some who are very ill have taken to spending their days in the opium shacks, with little food and even less strength. This is a bad omen.

At last the frost has left and the grass grows on the hills. The life around my shelter is starting again, and my soul feels much less burdened. We have been burying some of the people who died over the hard, foodless days, but the sight of those dead is hard. Wing Sun's savings were not enough even to send his body to the Saltwater City, and I walked to his grave today to apologize. Wan Chu derided me for bowing, but it is in our traditions and manner to do so. The dead are higher in station than we who remain on this earth. Wan said we must follow the ways of the white people, so that we are not considered separate and strange by them. But they bury their dead so casually and never show signs of remembrance or honour. The dead once lived among us and also moulded our lives, making it imperative that we honour them as we carry them with us.

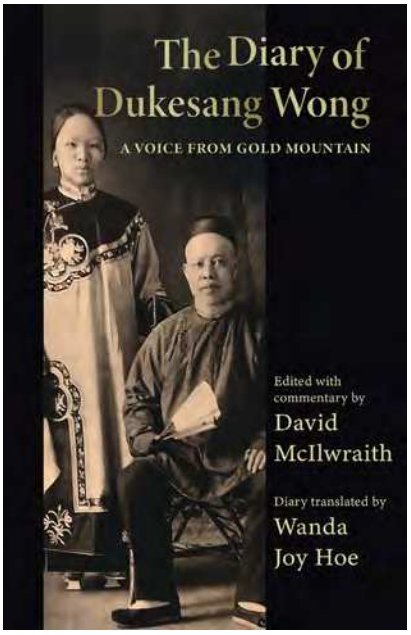
There is much work to be done and not enough people to labour at it. So many of us Chinese suffered and died recently; I cannot recount them all. But the Western people will not allow us to land here any longer, while they scold us for not working enough. How these acts wear my soul down to nothing. Kwong tells us about the laws the white people have enacted to prohibit any further landing of our people. I cannot understand why. The work is great, and there aren't enough labourers. The Indians are not working these days, and the Hindu people cannot labour as we are able to. But my words are meaningless, and my strength to speak now falls upon deaf ears and closed eyes. These mighty lands are great to gaze upon, but the laws made here are so small.

Spring 1886
For many days now I have been so tired that I could not continue to write in this journal. …

I am told that there are three men of my village over here in the Land of the Golden Mountains. They are said to be in a settlement north of this town. Perhaps I'll soon be able to visit their settlement and talk with them about our home village. It has been a very long time since I have heard any words spoken in my own language and about the news of my homeland.

Summer 1886
Work has brought us back to the Saltwater City. There is some fresh food for us and enough fish to fill our stomachs. So many have suffered from diseases and have been working their skin off, appearing more like skeletons, so sick without food and rest. Even the fresh food here will have little effect on some of the poor frail bodies, but all of us are greatly relieved. …

Times for us now are definitely changing, and the fortunes of our people need great care and guarding.



There is so little we can do to change the way the white people see us, yet I do wish the weight of taxes on us was gone. One good event took place a few days ago, however – tea! Loads of tea for sipping. My young neighbour has prepared a feast for us to accompany the tea, and we all delight in these days.

Today, as it is a feast day in the Western calendar, all the labourers are free to follow their own will. I decided to wander in the hills of this land. There are few books to read, and my own are too well read to interest me in any new way, so I will compose a few words about my own thoughts and ideas. I have pondered this fresh new land, yet it is a land already full of sadness. The people are beginning to pursue a search for gold. They say it glitters everywhere, and men die for it. It is a peculiar set of values, strange to my humble limited experience, where men fight one another for it. The masters have said, "Only ill will come from desiring material things one cannot obtain; only good will come from desiring good." I desire material things sufficient for my living, and to bring Lin to an established house. The glitter of gold will not bring her to me. It would be only too easily robbed from me, so I labour onward, being called foolish by some people. Is it a fool's dream to want to establish myself, to be well respected and a full man? In my home village, if people could see what goes on here, they would surely despise the violence there and leave the village for the invaders to conquer. …

Early Winter 1886
In my meditation last evening, I formed a decision. I will work here in this town, doing tailoring, in order to establish a house and have a good name among the Chinese here. Tailoring is a worthwhile trade that I can perform, and it will also help people who cannot purchase clothing from Western tailors. There is not enough ready-made clothing from China, and there are no tailors to cut the cloth in our manner. I will be able to earn some money, enough to bring Lin over to this land. I am afraid for her life in our homeland, since all her family perished and she has no place to go. …

Late Summer 1887
The coastal regions were certainly cooler than this place. The land is very dry, and dust continually cakes onto our skin as we work. Today I had to be treated by the town physician for exhaustion in my lungs. I need to rest, but I have yet to obtain enough funds to return to the Saltwater City to build a place to start tailoring. I thought that my strength was built up sufficiently in the south, but this land is far harsher and demands more strength than I have. I have been here for seven months and have only been doing labour on the railway. Mining coal brings more money, but the owners of the mines will no longer allow us poor people to work for them. There are no Chinese families here who I could teach, although the white people have schools for their children. I am very interested in their teachings and wish I could understand enough of their language to listen to their lessons.

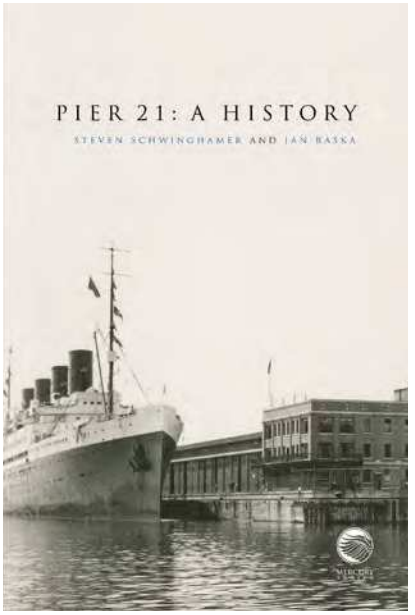
My old way of life — my soul desires it, and my mind continually wanders to those days of no cares and worries. My dear father, if only you can see me now, labouring, using my physical strength to earn some food and hoarding the money paid to me! …

Is it a fool's dream to want to establish myself, to be well respected and a full man?

Late Autumn 1887
At last a ship full of our people's goods has arrived bringing such joy! We have teas and rice. We have spices and dried food. We will have a full year's celebration with such fortune!

From The Diary of Dukesang Wong: A Voice from Gold Mountain, *edited with commentary by David McIlwraith, diary translated by Wanda Joy Hoe. Reprinted with permission of Talonbooks.*

CanadasHistory.ca/Books
When you visit Chapters-Indigo via our website links and make any purchase, Canada's History receives a commission that supports our publishing and educational programs.



THRESHOLD EXPERIENCES

Pier 21: A History

by Steven Schwinghamer and Jan Raska
University of Ottawa Press, 276 pages, $27.95

If you could pick a Canadian building and hear its walls talk, which one would you choose? Province House in Charlottetown? The Montreal Forum? The Banff Springs hotel? It's hard to think of a building that would have more or better tales to tell than Pier 21 in Halifax. Those personal stories are what lift *Pier 21: A History* above a simple recounting of the immigration facility's past.

The authors recount a list of delays, inter-agency miscues, labour problems, and wartime austerity measures that prolonged the construction of Pier 21 for thirteen years (cost overruns and unmet deadlines not being exclusively modern phenomena). But, when the new facility finally opened in 1928, so too did an important chapter in the story of Canada.

Pier 21 served as a critical military hub, sending personnel and supplies to Europe and receiving prisoners of war and merchant mariners from abroad. Its postwar years saw a boom in immigrants and refugees entering Canada — from displaced persons and Baltic refugees to Jewish war orphans.

Tens of thousands of people in search of a better life disembarked, boarded trains, and spread out across the country, often completely unaware of what to expect. Celina Lieberman, a Jewish orphan from Poland, said she arrived in Halifax in 1948 "without a family or a country." Lieberman added: "All I was told was that I was going to Regina, Saskatchewan, presumably to a Jewish family, but I was not sure."

Co-authors Steven Schwinghamer and Jan Raska describe people who were driven by oppression and political upheaval to Pier 21 — including Hungarians fleeing Soviet invaders in the mid-1950s, followed shortly afterwards by Cubans who opposed Fidel Castro and, a decade later, refugees from Czechoslovakia's Prague Spring. The authors also highlight the work of volunteers who provided comfort, such as the Roman Catholic Sisters of Service, who offered spiritual support and practical necessities, and United Church members who distributed "ditty bags" containing toiletries, candy, stationery, and stamps.

Details enliven the book and create vivid sensory images. Italian children rejected a bologna sandwich on white bread, finding the processed food too sweet. Dutch women dried hand-washed diapers on a line strung in a train car. An English girl marvelled at the lights of Halifax that, she said, were shining "like a miracle." Even the authors' accounts of medical screenings, the interview process, and life in the dormitories are descriptive and move briskly. *Pier 21* also contains many excellent black-and-white photographs.

The book grapples with the unpleasant reality of Canada's long-enduring attitudes towards immigrants and refugees, including the determination of who was desirable (typically white English, Irish, and Scottish immigrants) and who was not (Jews, Asians, and people with intellectual or physical disabilities) when it came to preserving, as Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King famously said, "the character of our population." Whether officially enacted in racist legislation or simply enforced by garden-variety bigots, such judgments provide a bitter counterpoint to the more palatable stories of freedom and new beginnings.

With the opening of the Halifax International Airport in 1960, the numbers of immigrants arriving through Pier 21 declined sharply. It closed as an immigration facility in 1971. The building took on a new life as an interpretive centre and is today the main entrance to the Canadian Museum of Immigration, where both authors are historians. The museum is itself a fascinating place to visit and offers a wealth of archival information about the many people who entered Canada through Pier 21.

Reviewed by **Nancy Payne**, a contributing editor for *Canada's History* magazine and the editor of *Kayak: Canada's History Magazine for Kids*.

REBUILDING SOCIETIES

Civilians at the Sharp End: First Canadian Army Civil Affairs in Northwest Europe

by David A. Borys
McGill-Queen's University Press, 268 pages, $39.95

Nazi Germany was defeated in May 1945 after having caused the Second World War that killed an estimated sixty million people. The Nazis brought tremendous suffering and grief to the

world and, most terribly, to the occupied people and nations that were exploited and brutally oppressed. In Western Europe, the French, Belgians, and Dutch suffered greatly under the occupation. As the Allies drove back the Germans in battle from June 1944, they also had to deal with the challenges faced by these newly liberated people.

In *Civilians at the Sharp End*, David Borys, an academic historian and the host of the podcast *Cool Canadian History*, tells for the first time the story of the Civil Affairs branch of the First Canadian Army. These soldiers, who were generally older and unfit for combat but had strong language and organizational skills, were ordered to follow the fighting forces and to help with restoring broken communities that had been freed through fighting.

The Civil Affairs soldiers cut their teeth in Italy in 1943, but they suffered from the lack of a centralized strategy and from a shortage of resources. Matters were improved in France in the summer of 1944, especially regarding the massive job of rebuilding the city of Caen, near the Normandy beaches, after armadas of bombers had destroyed it and after soldiers, including Canadians, had fought through the rubble.

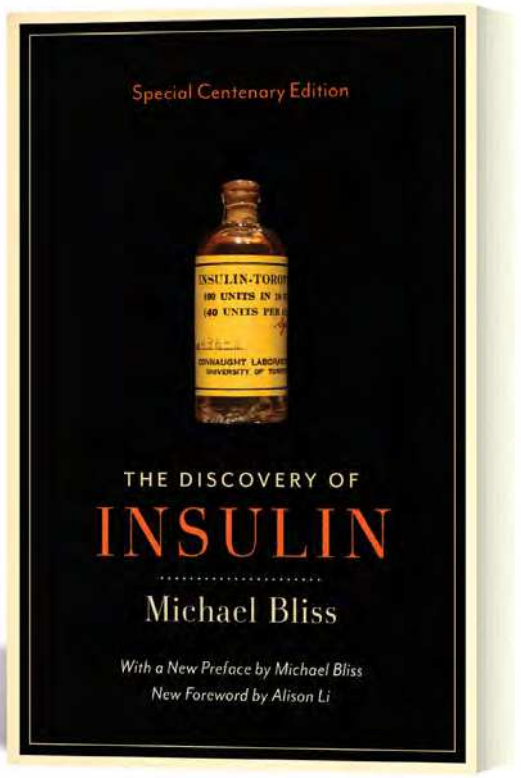
Food and medicine were provided to survivors, while hundreds of French civilians and German soldiers lay dead in the ruins. Their rotting bodies were a health hazard, and it was as important to clear and to bury their remains as it was to restore electricity and to bring food supplies. "It was hell," recounted one French civilian. "Everything had been destroyed." In later campaigns, Civil Affairs soldiers often led French civilians away from battlefields before the fighting began, thanks to short truces established with the Germans.

As the Allies slowly drove the Germans out of France and Belgium in the late summer and fall of 1944, they were forced to address the countless war refugees. They worked with the many resistance organizations that had fought the Germans, but these were difficult relationships because there was much conflict between various groups and governments in exile. On the ground, the public execution of collaborators was difficult for Canadians to witness.

The greatest challenge was the liberation of the Dutch people, who had been systematically starved by the Germans in an attempt to force their compliance. The malnourished population had to be fed, and the distribution of coal was essential over the cold winter of 1944–45.

Borys also looks at the Civil Affairs group in Germany, where it was part of

A Landmark in Medical History



PAPER 9781487529130

"The definitive history ... well written, highly readable."
LONDON REVIEW OF BOOKS

"*The Discovery of Insulin* deserves a place on the bookshelf alongside such eye-openers as James Watson's *The Double Helix*."
WASHINGTON POST

UTP UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS
UTORONTOPRESS.COM

@utpress

an occupying force. "We come as conquerors," wrote one military engineer, and yet they also set about rebuilding Germany. The millions of displaced people and freed slave labourers (many of them Russian prisoners of war) had to be cared for and fed. Sometimes the German people were protected against roving bands of freed prisoners who were seeking vengeance.

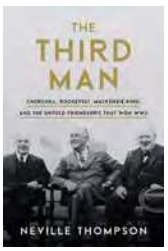
Civilians at the Sharp End is a welcome addition to the work of understanding the aftermath of war. This type of work during the Second World War was little acknowledged in previous books and articles, while there has perhaps been a greater understanding of the key role of units similar to Civil Affairs after disastrous twenty-first-century wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. Even when key battles have been won, wars have been lost due to the failure to understand that fighting and victory must be followed by restoration and rebuilding.

Reviewed by **Tim Cook**, the author of several books, including *The Secret History of Soldiers* (2018) and *The Fight for History* (2020).

HAPPY MEDIUM

The Third Man: Churchill, Roosevelt, Mackenzie King and the Untold Friendships that Won WWII

by Neville Thompson
Sutherland House, 508 pages, $39.95



With the world's fourth-largest air force and fifth-largest navy, and with more than a million men and women under arms during the Second World War, Canadians fought in every theatre of the conflict except for Russia. This amazing achievement by a nation of barely twelve million people was only part of the story, however. The role played by Canada's bland and inscrutable prime minister, William Lyon Mackenzie King, in the delicate diplomatic dance between the two key Western leaders, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and U.S. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, was also significant.

It has been said that Canada's chief mission was to serve as an "honest broker" between Britain and the United States, explaining each country to the other. This is largely a fiction. Yet, as Neville Thompson makes clear in his book *The Third Man*, it was King's conviction that the purpose of his life was to bring Britain and the United States into "close harmony."

The Third Man draws on the thirty thousand typewritten pages of King's voluminous diaries, but to say that the book is a reprise of those entries would be unfair. It is really a story of the Second World War in which Thompson amplifies, interprets, and questions the former prime minister's diary notes and places them in the context of the relationships between and among him, Churchill, and Roosevelt. Thompson, who is an emeritus professor of history at the University of Western Ontario, sees King as standing out for his "educational attainments and worldliness."

Mackenzie King met Winston Churchill in 1900 when Churchill, fresh from his South African war heroics, reached Ottawa on a speaking tour. In London in 1906, King, then a Canadian civil servant, sought Churchill's help in stopping Asian immigration to Canada. If not a supplicant, King was always the junior partner in their relationship; yet he nonetheless opposed Churchill's prewar anti-appeasement attitude. And when King George VI, on his visit to Canada in 1939, said he would not wish to appoint Churchill to any high office, King told the monarch that he was "helping to save the world." At that point, King regarded Churchill as "one of the most dangerous men I have ever known."

King's relationship with Roosevelt began when the newly elected U.S. president invited him to Washington in 1932 to discuss a trade agreement. By the time it was signed, the two men had become friends. King urged a similar agreement on Britain, and, when that took effect, he was convinced that he had played a "real part in bringing these three countries together at ... the most critical time in the history of the world."

Roosevelt, mindful of isolationist sentiment in the United States, used King to convey messages to Churchill that the president felt could not be issued in his own name. One such communication noted that, if Britain fell, the Royal Navy would be allowed to operate from U.S. ports. King considered the message the "most significant of any that has thus far crossed the ocean."

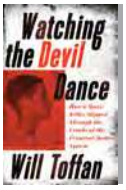
King was a frequent visitor to the White House and usually concluded those journeys by vacationing in Virginia or Georgia — even at the height of war. Roosevelt made several trips to Canada, including two wartime conferences with Churchill in Quebec City. King never sat in on these meetings but was made aware of the content of the discussions. Roosevelt suggested King as the possible moderator for a future United Nations that would ensure world peace through co-operation between the United States, Britain, the Soviet Union, and China.

Readers with a serious interest in Canadian history will find *The Third Man* engrossing. Others, to whom the Second World War is but a relic of the past (and who too often view Remembrance Day as a glorification of war) may find it hard going. But, if they read — or at least skim — this book, they will come away with an appreciation for the daunting challenges faced by three men of unusual personality and character in the great test of freedom versus oppression.

Reviewed by **Ray Argyle**, author of *Inventing Secularism: The Radical Life of George Jacob Holyoake*.

MORE BOOKS

Watching the Devil Dance: How a Spree Killer Slipped Through the Cracks of the Criminal Justice System
by Will Toffan
Biblioasis, 196 pages, $22.95



In 1966, the phrase "spree killer," meaning a person who murders two or more people in more than one location, was not in common use. Nevertheless, people like that existed.

That summer, North American news media reported mass murders such as the gruesome killings of eight student nurses in Chicago and the rampage of the "Texas Tower Sniper" in Austin, Texas. Weeks earlier, in Windsor, Ontario, a spree killing by Matthew Charles Lamb left two teenagers dead and many others wounded.

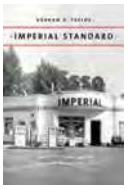
In *Watching the Devil Dance*, author and former RCMP officer Will Toffan methodically lays out a story that is replete with detail and insights. He guides readers through both the hours during which Lamb committed his crimes and the investigation that followed.

Sadly, there was no justice in this case. With a general lack of prior training or experience regarding this type of crime, mistakes were made by people working at different stages of the criminal-justice system — and this opened the door to Lamb's eventual release. He went on to become a celebrated mercenary in Rhodesia, dying in combat in 1976.

Watching the Devil Dance is ably written and includes an interesting bibliography. But it is Toffan's personal connection to one of the victims — his one-time neighbour and a pre-teen crush — that lends the narrative a singular poignancy.

The book's epilogue notes that no grief counselling was available for either the police officers or the civilians who were there on the night of the murders. In light of the current ages of the people who were affected, Toffan's interviews for this book offered a timely opportunity for those who were willing to tell their stories. — *Tanja Hütter*

Imperial Standard: Imperial Oil, Exxon, and the Canadian Oil Industry from 1880
by Graham D. Taylor
University of Calgary Press, 380 pages, $39.99



Canada is the world's fifth-largest oil producer and has the world's third-largest proven oil reserves. As discussions about the future sustainability of one of Canada's most important business sectors grow louder, Graham D. Taylor's comprehensive history *Imperial Standard: Imperial Oil, Exxon, and the Canadian Oil Industry from 1880* offers a rare look inside the growth and evolution of Canada's oil-and-gas industry and the more than 130-year-old company that led it.

Imperial Oil's story parallels the economic story of Canada. It began as a Canadian company rooted in British traditions, then it was brought into the gravitational field of American industrial aspirations. Taylor ably weaves the compelling story of a company striving to maintain its independence and identity while navigating complicated relationships — both with the large multinational corporation of which it was a subsidiary and with federal and provincial governments that were determined to claim the company as their own model of growth and ingenuity.

Imperial Standard explores challenges and controversies faced by the company over the years. Starting with an early pipeline debate in 1880, Taylor also looks at often-brutal labour practices, oil field operations, ocean disasters, and crippling investments in the oil sands. The book ends by discussing the current existential evaluation of the company's role in contributing to the growing climate crisis, as well as the urgency of developing meaningful ways to respond to that challenge. — *Deborah Morrison*

Our Backs Warmed by the Sun: Memories of a Doukhobor Life
by Vera Maloff
Caitlin Press, 264 pages, $24.95

If you've heard of the Doukhobors of Western Canada, chances are good that the reference had something to do with their headline-grabbing protests involving arson and nudity. In *Our Backs Warmed by the Sun*, retired teacher Vera Maloff foregoes sensationalism, instead introducing readers to hard-working, deeply principled people in British Columbia's Kootenay region who paid dearly for their commitment to peace.

Through interviews with her mother, Leeza (Elizabeth), newspaper accounts, her grandfather's writings, and other sources, Maloff creates an enjoyable — if often sobering — portrait of people who loved the earth and lived by unyielding principles. Her grandparents, Peter and Lusha Maloff, were imprisoned in 1932 for participating in peaceful protests against the use of taxes for the military. Yes, there was nudity. If the government was going to strip them of their land for their beliefs, some Doukhobors said, then they would strip off their clothing in defiance.

Their children were briefly jailed with them. The government sent Leeza to an industrial school and her younger siblings to orphanages and foster homes, before the family was reunited. Less than a decade later, Peter Maloff was back in jail, where he was repeatedly beaten for refusing to register to serve in the Second World War.

In this engaging book, Vera Maloff shows readers the beauty of a close-knit family and community as well as its members' stubborn commitment to social justice alongside the ugly treatment they often received. Black-and-white photographs depict the stern, strong people she mentions. — *Nancy Payne*

PHOTOGRAPH BY RICHARD FINNIE COURTESY UBC PRESS.

DANGEROUS CARGO In 1939, filmmaker Richard Finnie photographed an employee of Eldorado Mining and Refining at the Port Radium mine in the Northwest Territories. The man is resting his hand on sacks of pitchblende concentrate that were rich in uranium. It's one of dozens of images in *The Bomb in the Wilderness: Photography and the Nuclear Era in Canada* (UBC Press, 245 pages, $32.95) by art historian and curator John O'Brian. Uranium and plutonium from Port Radium were used in the bombs that fell on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Sahtu Dene people from the village of Déline on the shore of Great Bear Lake were employed as carriers of the ore without knowing either its purpose or the dangers involved in handling the radioactive material.

The Ku Klux Klan in Canada: A Century of Promoting Racism and Hate in the Peaceable Kingdom
by Allan Bartley
Formac Publishing, 319 pages, $24.95

Given the recent and disturbing rise in extremist ideologies in the United States, a new book on the history of the Ku Klux Klan in Canada is a timely reminder that our country was not, and is not, immune to similar virulent racist ideals.

Author Allan Bartley, a former intelligence analyst in the Canadian security community and an adjunct professor in the Department of Political Science at Carleton University in Ottawa, explores how the Klan moved northward in the early 1920s and, like a weed, took root in several provinces across the country. From its national headquarters in Toronto, the Klan encouraged and incited hatred of several minority groups — in particular, Jewish, Chinese, and Black Canadians.

The Ku Klux Clan in Canada is a startling exploration of a dark period in Canadian history during which racism was ingrained in all segments of society. The book's small photographic section — featuring several images of white-hooded Klan members parading through Canadian streets — drives home the need to be vigilant regarding racism in Canada today. — *M.C. Reid*

It is pictured

The largest concentration of Indigenous rock art on the Great Plains sits in a sacred landscape with ancient connections. *by Rob Alexander*

With a strong prairie wind buffeting our backs and a hot southern-Alberta sun baking our arms, my daughter, Alaina, and I float down the tranquil Milk River in our kayaks. The river quietly sweeps us past sheer sandstone cliffs that reach into the pale prairie sky, while swallows dart overhead, tacking across the wind like tiny sailboats.

At the bottom of the Milk River Valley, surrounded by the mixed-grass prairie of southern Alberta and with only the birds in sight, we feel utterly alone but certainly not lonely. After all, we're in the middle of Writing-on-Stone / Áísínai'pi — a provincial park, a National Historic Site, and a UNESCO World Heritage Site all rolled into one impressive place.

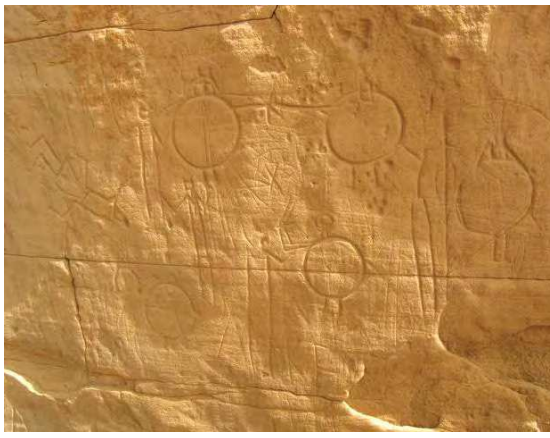
This is a land with a long memory. Archaeological sites show that Indigenous people have been visiting Writing-on-Stone / Áísínai'pi (Blackfoot for "it is pictured" or "it is written") for more than 3,500 years. However, people have likely been coming here for much longer than that, as the oldest archaeological sites in this corner of southern Alberta date back ten millennia.

Today, Writing-on-Stone / Áísínai'pi is a living cultural landscape that remains sacred to the Siksikáítsitapi (meaning Blackfoot-speaking real or original people) of the Blackfoot Confederacy: the Kainai, the Piikáni, and the Siksika First Nations. As long as the Niitsítapi (the Blackfoot term for themselves and other Indigenous people, meaning original or real people) have been on the Great Plains, they have travelled here to communicate through ceremonies and vision quests with the sacred beings that dwell among the hoodoos and the sandstone cliffs.

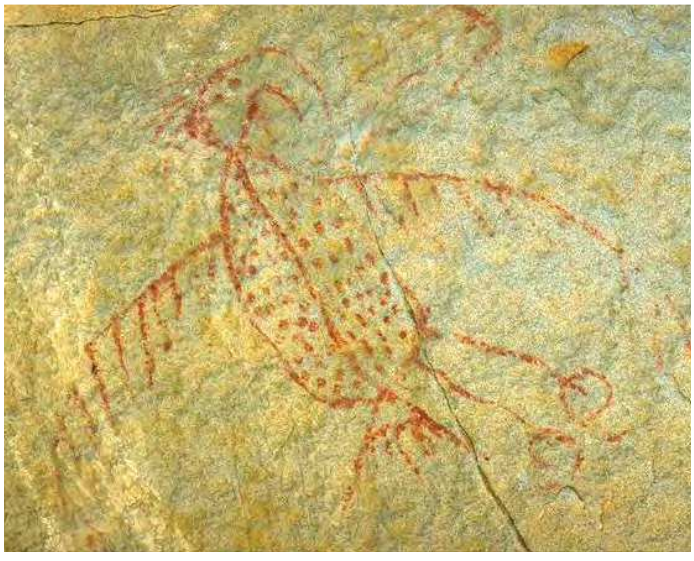
A short distance from where we float alongside the pale-yellow cliffs is the largest concentration of Indigenous rock art on the Great Plains. At night, after our float down the Milk River, we settle around a campfire under a star-filled sky. The soft murmur of voices and the pop and crackle of nearby campfires drift through the campground.

In the morning we join a guided tour of the archaeological preserve, a restricted area where most of the rock art is found.

TRAVEL ALBERTA / DAVEY LIESKE



Opposite page: A guided tour of Alberta's Writing-on-Stone / Áísínai'pi area passes hoodoos as the Milk River flows nearby. Top left: Petroglyphs in the archaeological preserve along the trail used by tours. Lower left: Nearly a metre across, the largest Thunderbird motif in North America was painted on the ceiling of a rock shelter. Above: Petroglyphs of shield-bearing warriors were carved into a sandstone cliff before European contact. Below: Piikáni Elder Bird Rattle carved this petroglyph of an automobile in 1924.



TOP LEFT AND LOWER LEFT: ALBERTA PARKS; TOP RIGHT AND LOWER RIGHT: ROB ALEXANDER

The tours, often led by Siksikáítsitapi guides, are the only way to see the concentration of petroglyphs (rock carvings) and pictographs (painted images) in the park and are the best way to learn about them. Interpretive displays in the visitor centre further explore the history and meaning of rock art, along with the history of the Siksikáítsitapi, the North West Mounted Police (NWMP), and the settlers who established farms and ranches in this area in the mid-to-late 1800s.

Our guide leads the group along a trail that begins near the rodeo grounds where we started our river float the day before. We follow an undulating cliff, passing numerous panels of well-preserved petroglyphs and pictographs of abstract shapes and recognizable images, such as bison, horses, and numerous shield-bearing warriors and human figures with V-shaped necks or triangular bodies.

We learn that the rock art — most of which dates back between roughly a thousand years and a century ago — records events, personal achievements, dreams, and visions. It's believed that the oldest petroglyphs in the park were crafted some three thousand years ago.

The arc of Great Plains history written on the rocks stretches from the days when dogs were the only domesticated animal in use in North America, through to the introduction of horses and guns in the early-to-mid 1700s. It continues through the arrival of the police and the settlers, ending relatively recently with the automobile's appearance in the West, which was documented on the rocks in 1924 by Bird Rattle, a Piikáni Elder.

While many of the petroglyphs and pictographs stand alone as single images, others tell elaborate stories, such as the battle scene. Accessible via a short trail from the park's public road, this panel features 250 petroglyphs that are said to document a battle the Siksikáítsitapi fought against the Crow, Gros Ventre, and Plains Cree near the Milk River in 1866.

Even though the battle scene petroglyph is accessible without a guide, it is fenced off to protect it from vandals. Alberta Parks is actively removing graffiti from the cliffs. Damaging the rock art or

Above left: An interpreter at Writing-on-Stone / Áísínai'pi shares the story of the petroglyphs during a tour of the archaeological preserve. Above right: The reconstructed NWMP outpost opened in 1975 on the site of the original barracks built in 1889.

defacing the cliffs, hoodoos, and rocks in the park can lead to large fines (up to $50,000) and a year in jail.

Across the valley from where we sit immersed in the history and culture of the Siksikáítsitapi, we can see the 1975 reconstruction of the NWMP post. Its white walls stand in sharp contrast to what we experience on the north side of the river among the rock art — settler law and order juxtaposed with ceremony and reverence. The NWMP established a camp facing Police Coulee in 1887 to stop both cross-border raiding of horses by the Kainai and whisky smuggling into First Nations. The Mounties built the barracks in 1889, and the post closed in 1918.

Soon after the police established their post, settlers began farming and ranching in a region whose original inhabitants had been removed — they had been confined to reserves following the 1877 signing of Treaty Seven. However, the farmers and ranchers embraced Writing-on-Stone / Áísínai'pi, and their stewardship led to its being protected as a provincial park in 1957. The park was named a National Historic Site in 1995 and a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2019.

Today, Alberta Parks manages Writing-on-Stone / Áísínai'pi with advice from Siksikáítsitapi Elders. The Siksikáítsitapi continue to practise their traditions and ceremonies in the heart of their ancestral lands. They share their ancient connections to this sacred landscape with non-Indigenous people such as me and my family, and each successive visit has left us with a deeper appreciation for the people of this remarkable place.

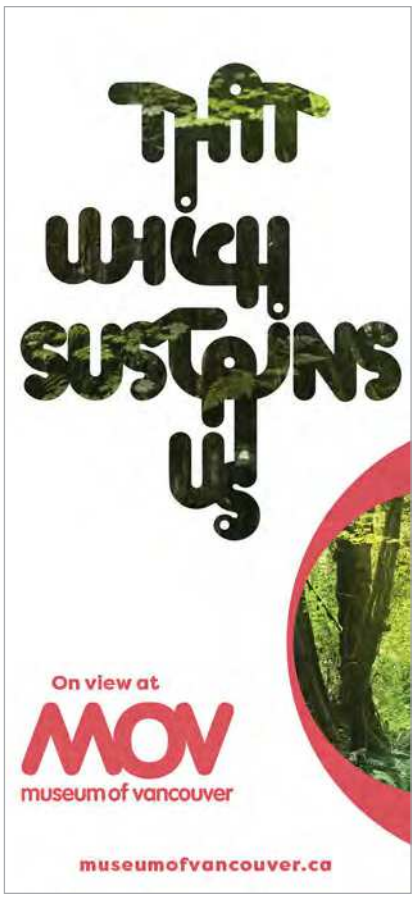
IF YOU GO

GETTING THERE: Writing-on-Stone / Áísínai'pi is located in south-central Alberta just north of the Canada-U.S. border. The park is a 3.5-hour drive from Calgary by way of Lethbridge and the town of Milk River. From Milk River, it's a thirty-minute drive east to the park via Highway 501.

WHERE TO STAY: Camping is available in the park, and sites can be reserved on the Alberta Parks website. Five private campgrounds are available within a forty-five-minute radius of the park; they're located at or near the communities of Foremost, Milk River, and Warner. Hotels and motels are also located in Milk River.

EXPLORE: Hike the 4.4-kilometre Hoodoo Interpretive Trail to learn about the natural and cultural history of Writing-on-Stone / Áísínai'pi.

BRING: Services in the park are limited, so bring food and plenty of water. Summertime temperatures can reach forty degrees Celsius.



LEFT: ROB ALEXANDER. RIGHT: ALBERTA PARKS

AT THE MUSEUMS

Thelma Pepper was a Nova Scotia-born photographer who documented the lives of women and men on the prairies after moving to Saskatchewan in 1947. A feminist and an activist, she produced work that illuminates the critical roles played by women within their seemingly ordinary, everyday environments. For one of her projects, Pepper spent eight years producing portraits of Saskatchewan women, all of whom were over the age of eighty-five. On her many trips to the small towns where her subjects lived, Pepper also produced landscape photographs and recorded audio interviews. She died in 2020, and her work is now showcased in the retrospective exhibition *Thelma Pepper: Ordinary Women*, which continues at the Remai Modern in Saskatoon until October 11.

Right: Thelma Pepper, *Thankfulness*, 1985, silver gelatin on paper, 33.8 x 33.8 cm.

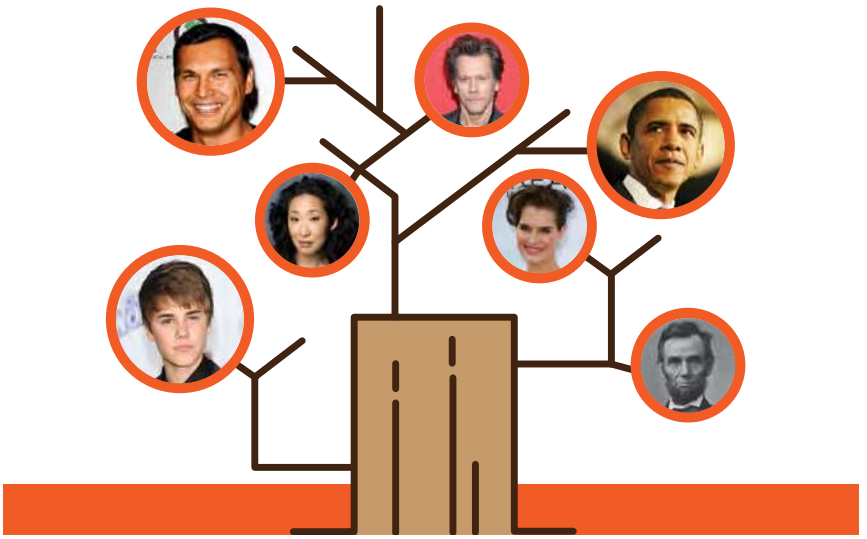
A major historic site at Niagara Falls, Ontario, is opening to visitors this summer. The Canadian Niagara Power Company generating station opened in 1905 and was the first major power plant on the Canadian side of the Niagara River. It was also among the first power stations anywhere to include a major tunnel project. Decommissioned in 2006, the station was later acquired by the Niagara Parks Commission. As part of a multi-year project, the renamed Niagara Parks Power Station is being transformed into a major attraction. Visitors will experience interactive exhibits and, beginning in September, will be treated to an immersive sound-and-light show at night. Careful work has been done to preserve the historical building, with elements of the facility's heritage incorporated throughout. Plans for 2022 include allowing visitors to access the enormous tailrace tunnel that opens at the base of the Horseshoe Falls.

Above left: An immersive sound-and-light experience transforms the century-old generating station at Niagara Falls, Ontario. Lower left: The generator floor of the Niagara Parks Power Station at Niagara Falls.

The Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies in Banff, Alberta, has undertaken two digitization projects to mark the 115th anniversary this year of the birth of its co-founder, Catharine Robb Whyte. She lived in Banff with her husband, Peter, whose family operated one of the town's first general stores. One project involves digitizing more than ten thousand letters Whyte wrote over three decades and sent to her mother in Concord, Massachusetts. Available online, the letters tell about life in the Canadian Rockies, friendships with people from the Stoney Nakoda First Nation, and the rise of Banff as a major tourist destination. The second project was designed to make other parts of the museum's collection accessible online, including photographs, films, scrapbooks and other items related to Banff and to Canadian mountaineering. To explore these resources, visit www.whyte.org/research-collections.

Right: Catharine Robb Whyte seated at her desk circa 1950.

TOP RIGHT: COLLECTION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN. GIFT OF THE ARTIST. 1996. CENTRE LEFT ABOVE AND BELOW: COURTESY NIAGARA PARKS. BOTTOM RIGHT: WHYTE MUSEUM OF THE CANADIAN ROCKIES, PETER AND CATHARINE WHYTE FONDS (V683/IIIA/1/PA-73)



Seeing stars

What's the fascination with celebrity genealogy, anyway? *by Paul Jones*

Someone recently asked me why I've never explored the roots of famous people in this column. I've happily offered case histories of people who were not household names (sometimes not even within their own families). Why not public figures or celebrities? I was unexcited by the idea, so I decided to do a tour of celebrity genealogy coverage to figure out why.

By and large, major mainstream media ignore genealogy, except for occasional human-interest stories or when a new Canadian prime minister or American president is elected. (In recent years, the mainstream media in both countries have been obsessed with reporting the Irish ancestry of political leaders … but more on that later!)

Credible celebrity genealogy websites like Geneastar.org and FamousKin.com exist, but they are not well-known, even within the genealogy community. Much higher in profile are FamilySearch Family Tree, World Family Tree on Geni.com, and similar websites that seek to combine everyone's family trees into a single tree of all humanity.

Notwithstanding their ideal of including everyone, these sites love celebrities. FamilySearch entices its visitors with the line "What do Tom Hanks, Abraham Lincoln, and Elvis Presley have in common? Besides being famous, they are also all related — and you may be related to them too!"

The unexpected lesson here is that the principal attraction of celebrity genealogy is not the celebrities themselves but John & Jane Q. Public's undiscovered connections to them. As one observer commented to American journalist A.J. Jacobs, "It's like Six Degrees of Kevin Bacon, but everyone is Kevin Bacon."

Search hard enough, and you're related, albeit very distantly, to royalty and to just about every celebrity you can think of.

Still, this insight doesn't explain the abiding popularity of the best-known category of celebrity genealogy media, the episodic TV documentary series. Most familiar is the *Who Do You Think You Are?* franchise with close to twenty versions in countries around the globe, most familiarly in the United Kingdom and the United States. Each episode depicts a celebrity on an emotional journey of discovery about his or her family history.

Seasoned genealogists have a love-hate relationship with *Who Do You Think You Are?* On one hand, they feel validated by the near-global popularity of a program about ancestry, and they accept that the charisma of celebrity attracts the interest of viewers who would otherwise never bother with family history.

In practice, though, narratives are warped by the demands of the TV medium. Hours of painstaking research are routinely collapsed into a few mouse clicks. For many genealogists, their research is limited to web searches or perhaps visits to local or regional archives. But when *Friends* actress Lisa Kudrow needs information, she simply jets off to Poland to get it, camera crew in tow. And supermodel and actress Brooke Shields has an emotional epiphany that her love of France must come from newly discovered French ancestors — no matter that they contributed virtually nothing to her DNA or to her life experience.

It raises the question: If so much celebrity genealogy is just fluff, is there any value to it for serious genealogists? For some there's the "fun facts" aspect: Did you know that Canadian pop star Justin Bieber can trace his ancestry back to seventeenth-century immigrants to New France?

Others are attracted to rip-roaring case histories, such as the outstanding work on the ancestry of former U.S. First Lady Michelle Obama by genealogist Megan Smolenyak, which was extended and popularized by journalist Rachel L. Swarns.

If I'm ever so lucky as to stumble across such an amazing story and have the luxury of spending months on the investigation, you can be sure that the readers of *Canada's History* will be the first to know.

In the meantime, let me announce it here, loud and clear: Current and recent Canadian prime ministers Justin Trudeau, Stephen Harper, and Paul Martin all have Irish ancestry; so too do presidents Joe Biden, Donald Trump, and Barack Obama (not to mention Michelle Obama). Stay tuned for further celebrity genealogy breaking news!

Paul Jones, a retired publisher, is a writer, a consultant, and an avid genealogist.

ALAMY

SHAPING THE FUTURE

ANNUAL REPORT 2020-21

CANADA'S HISTORY

MESSAGE FROM THE CHAIR

Canada's History magazine celebrated its one hundredth anniversary in the middle of a historic challenge — the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic.

We recognize the paradoxes of the present. Canada is at a curious moment that emphasizes the importance of both Canadian communities and the Canadian state. The federal government has never been more important, as centralized relief programs were part of a national investment in benefits, subsidies, and loans on an unprecedented scale.

Sasha Mullally

Yet we have never been closer to home and as reliant upon our local communities as we have been while pursuing the common public-health goal of keeping everyone safe.

Canadians have taken on the challenges of learning and working from home, adjusted to new travel restrictions, and sheltered in place — all for the greater good. And we have endured the separation from, and even the loss of, loved ones.

Our organization joined this effort. Canada's History adjusted to these challenges, inspired by the potential of what Canadian economic and communications historian Harold Innis called the "space-binding" possibilities of new communications technologies.

Using an array of virtual platforms, we maintained and even expanded our network of members, award laureates, and donors, cultivating a wider readership for publications like *Canada's History* magazine and *Kayak: Canada's History Magazine for Kids*. We continued to celebrate teaching and research excellence, while annual events like our Canada's History Forum and Governor General's History Awards moved online. It was a centennial to remember.

We can only imagine what sense historians of the future will make of the stories that come forward from 2020 and 2021.

One thing is certain: Canada's History Society will continue to share stories that make sense of the present moment. We encourage Canadians to draw insight and inspiration from our collective past, as we collectively face the challenges ahead.

— Sasha Mullally

2020-21 BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Sasha Mullally, *Chair*
Bill Caulfeild-Browne
Tim Cook
Magda Fahrni
Edward Kennedy
Michèle Leduc
Bruce MacLellan
Natasha Pashak
Carla Peck
Michael Rea, *Past Chair*
Stephen Thomas

NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

E. James Arnett
A. Charles Baillie
J. Douglas Barrington
W. John Bennett
Mark S. Bonham
Elsa Franklin
Charlotte Gray
John Honderich
Gillian Manning
Ry Moran
Don Newman
Richard W. Pound
H. Sanford Riley
Jane Urquhart
Greg Wong

FOUNDING PUBLISHER
Rolph Huband (1929-2016)

PRESIDENT EMERITUS
Joe Martin

PRESIDENT & CEO
Janet Walker

Canada's History Society was founded in 1994 to popularize Canadian history. The Society's work includes *Canada's History* magazine, CanadasHistory.ca, *Kayak: Canada's History Magazine for Kids*, and the Governor General's History Awards.

HUDSON'S BAY

The Hudson's Bay Company History Foundation is the history society's founding patron. It remains our largest private donor, providing an annual grant essential to supporting the delivery of our programs.

On the Cover:
Clockwise from top left: An illustration by Leticia Spence from *Every Child Matters*. The cover of the centennial issue of *Canada's History*. Medals presented to the laureates of the Governor General's History Awards. The logo of the new Canada's History Society program #OurStoriesOurVoices. The cover of the September 2020 issue of *Kayak: Canada's History Magazine for Kids*. A poster for the 2020 Canada's History Forum, which was held virtually due to the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic.

Top left: Alberta farmers wear face masks during the 1918–20 Influenza pandemic.

TOP LEFT: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA PA-025025 BELOW: STEWART MACLEAN

***Canada's History*'s centennial issue, published in October 2020, showcased the photographic legacy of *The Beaver* magazine.**

A CENTURY OF STORYTELLING — 100 YEARS OF THE BEAVER

In the inaugural issue of *The Beaver*, editor Clifton Thomas wrote of his ambition to make the magazine more than just an in-house newsletter of the Hudson's Bay Company.

"If you can inspire us to make a better *Beaver*, give us your thought," Thomas wrote in October 1920. "This is a 'Journal of Progress' in every sense."

Founded just over a century ago as *The Beaver*, the magazine now titled *Canada's History* has evolved into Canada's premier national history magazine.

In so many ways, *The Beaver* has educated readers and enriched their lives. Its pages have featured some of the country's greatest writers and historians, from Pierre Berton and Charlotte Gray to Desmond Morton, Lawrence Hill, and countless others. The magazine has helped to connect Canadians to those who lived here before us — celebrating our fellow citizens' achievements, mourning our country's losses, and offering lessons upon which to draw for the future.

To mark *The Beaver*'s centennial, *Canada's History* in October 2020 published a special hundred-page issue that showcased the important photographic legacy of the magazine while offering new perspectives on the photos as records of northern Canada in the early twentieth century.

We invited some of Canada's greatest historians and authors to write special essays that added context to the complex legacy of *The Beaver* — a magazine created in southern Canada and shaped by settler perceptions of the North. With reconciliation in mind, *Canada's History* ensured that Indigenous voices were a crucial part of the storytelling in the special anniversary issue.

Looking to the future, *Canada's History* is committed to amplifying Indigenous voices while also honouring the legacy of *The Beaver*.

Starting in October 2021, *The Beaver* will return as an annual supplement in *Canada's History* that will showcase Indigenous stories and storytelling while also offering fresh perspectives on the history of northern Canada.

SUPPORTING STORYTELLERS: THE EDITOR'S CIRCLE

More than $100,000 was raised for a new Editor's Circle program to mark the one hundredth anniversary of *Canada's History* magazine in 2020.

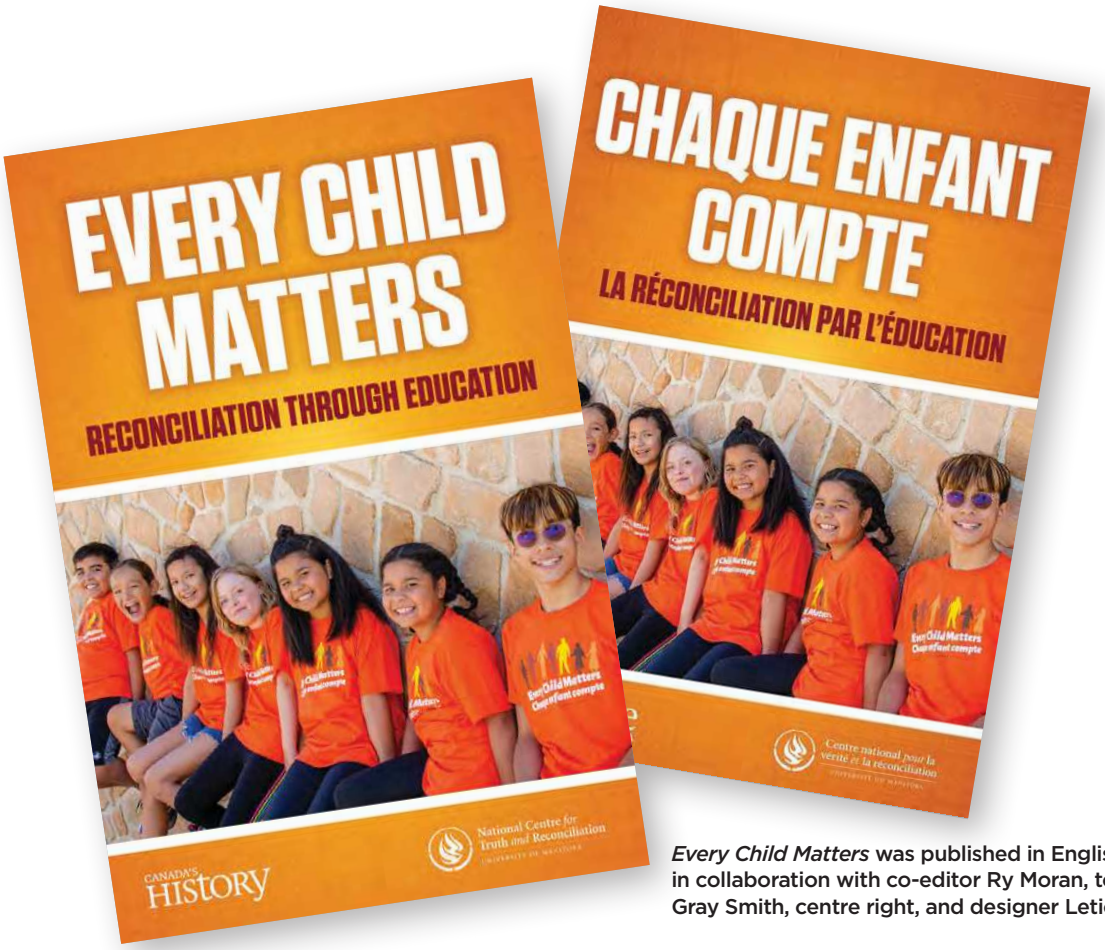
Long-time subscribers to *The Beaver* joined volunteer directors of the board of Canada's History Society, families of former HBC Governors and employees, and suppliers and friends of Canada's History Society to build this incredible new fund.

This initiative will be developed into an annual giving program to help to sustain the magazine and to support the creation, beginning in 2021, of a special supplementary edition of *The Beaver*.

The new annual supplement will showcase new voices and unique stories within the magazine.

EDITOR'S CIRCLE
CANADA'S HISTORY

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: HBCA-1987-363-E-220,042; HBCA-1987-363-E-130-48; HBCA-1987-363-D-1811-18; HBCA-1987-363-E-341-044; HBCA-1987-238-210


EVERY CHILD MATTERS
RECONCILIATION THROUGH EDUCATION
CHAQUE ENFANT COMPTE
LA RÉCONCILIATION PAR L'ÉDUCATION
National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation
CANADA'S HISTORY
Centre national pour la vérité et la réconciliation

Every Child Matters **was published in English and French and was created in collaboration with co-editor Ry Moran, top right, lead writer Monique Gray Smith, centre right, and designer Leticia Spence, above right.**

EVERY CHILD MATTERS

In September 2020, Canada's History Society in partnership with the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation published a special magazine for youth focused on reconciliation.

Every Child Matters: Reconciliation Through Education was written for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous youth in grades five to twelve with the goal of offering them advice and encouragement as they navigate their own personal reconciliation journeys.

The magazine, written by Monique Gray Smith, who is of Cree, Lakota, and Scottish descent, was divided into chapters, each based on one of the Seven Sacred Teachings: Respect, Honesty, Wisdom, Humility, Love, Courage, and Truth. The magazine also featured calls to action so that young readers can actively engage in reconciliation-related activities both at school and in their communities.

Co-edited by Ry Moran, a member of the Métis Nation and the founding director of the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation, and co-designed by Leticia Spence of Pimicikamak First Nation in Manitoba, the magazine is engaging and accessible for young readers while also providing a valuable educational resource for parents and teachers.

Students examine the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's bentwood box, which was used to collect items from residential school survivors.

The magazine was published in conjunction with Orange Shirt Day — the annual day of remembrance of residential school students, survivors, and their families that is held each September 30. In 2020, due to the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, Orange Shirt Day was turned into a virtual event that reached thousands of young people and their families across Canada.

Copies of *Every Child Matters* were published in both English and French and were offered free to teachers through online registration. We originally planned to print 50,000 copies. However, demand was overwhelming, with all copies reserved in just a few days. Thanks to a generous sponsorship from TD Bank Group, we were able to print an additional 110,000 copies. Thousands more teachers downloaded digital versions of the publication along with education resources.

TOP RIGHT: UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA; CENTRE RIGHT: CENTRIC PHOTOGRAPHY; BOTTOM RIGHT: LETICIA SPENCE; CENTRE; COURTESY NCTR

#OURSTORIESOURVOICES

In March 2021, Canada's History Society launched a new national youth program that gives students aged nine to eighteen the opportunity to explore important stories from their communities' pasts and to share them with Canadians across the country through social media, an online contest, a virtual youth forum, and a special publication.

By creatively sharing these stories, young Canadians discover new people, places, things, and events that illuminate our diverse past.

The first stage of the program focused on sharing classroom resources to bolster the abilities of students to establish historical significance and to use primary-source evidence.

More than five hundred teachers registered online to receive a free digital educator's package that contained promotional materials and valuable classroom resources. Students across the country are engaging with these resources to strengthen their historical-research skills, to enhance their storytelling savviness, and find inspiration to tell the stories that truly matter to them.

Canada's History Society looks forward to amplifying youth voices and perspectives with the #OurStoriesOurVoices program as it continues throughout 2021 and early 2022.

MAKING HISTORY FUN FOR KIDS

The *Kayak* team has learned that for a kid stuck at home getting something in the mail is pretty great. And, for parents and teachers looking to keep kids reading and learning, our digital editions — in French and English, with lesson plans coordinated by Canada's History program staff — are a treasure trove. Over the past year, the magazines looked at Canada's role in the Second World War, growing up healthy, trees, and stories of people seeking safety here. The latter was also published in print as a full-length French edition. Meanwhile, our digital issue focused on early settler life and the impact of settlement on Indigenous peoples.

Each issue of *Kayak* features a special history-related theme.

OUR AUDIENCE BY THE NUMBERS

At Canada's History Society, we believe that our audience should see itself reflected in our publications and in our programming. But who is that audience? The answer might surprise you.

27.7

The percentage of readers who were born outside of Canada.

1.6 MILLION

Canada's History Society's total audience across all media platforms, including print, online, and social media.

37.9

The average age of a *Canada's History* reader.

714,000

The number of readers who are millennials (people born between 1981 and 1996).

48.4

Percentage of readers with children under the age of eighteen.

IN THE COMPANY OF ADVENTURERS

Canada's History Society acknowledges with gratitude the continuing and exceptional leadership of donors who have contributed to the giving program "in the company of *Adventurers*." Established in 2015 to recognize Canada's History Society's most generous donors, "in the company of *Adventurers*" provides enduring recognition to cherished supporters whose cumulative giving has reached or exceeded $50,000 in total contributions.

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY HISTORY FOUNDATION

Founding Patron and largest private donor to Canada's National History Society

$200,000 +

Canada Life
Dorothy Hollingsworth in memory of her husband William Nobleman
The Molson Foundation
The Northpine Foundation
Richardson Foundation
H Sanford & Deborah Riley
TD Bank Group
The Estate of Jean Vogan
The Wilson Foundation
The Winnipeg Foundation

$100,000 - 199,999

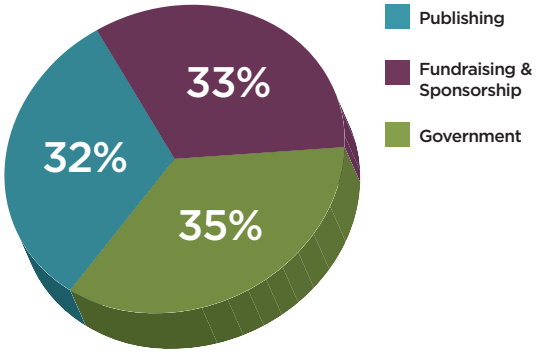
W John Bennett
James W Burns†
Bruce MacLellan & Karen Girling
Power Corporation of Canada
Jim & Leney Richardson
J Derek Riley†
David Ross & Audrey Loeb

$50,000 – 99,999

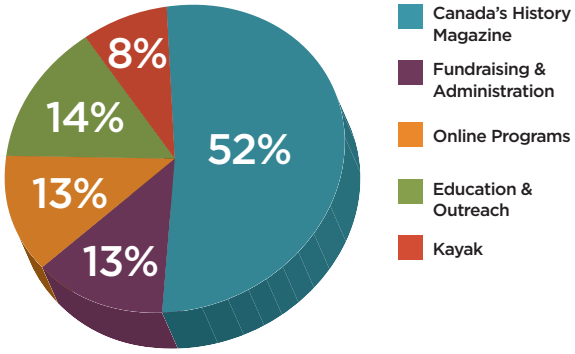
E James Arnett
The Asper Foundation
James C Baillie
J Douglas Barrington
Bell MTS
Bill & Judy Caulfeild-Browne
John & Pattie Cleghorn and Family
Honor Bonnycastle de Pencier & Michael de Pencier
Charlotte Gray & George Anderson
Jackman Foundation
Edward & Stella Kennedy
Greg Latremoille
Joe Martin
Michael† & Joy Phelps and Family
The Pollard Family Foundation
Richard W Pound
Michael & Barbara Rea

† *Deceased*

CANADA'S HISTORY REVENUE SOURCES



CANADA'S HISTORY PROGRAM EXPENSES



TOP: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA C002771K

HONOUR ROLL

This year, generous individuals, corporations, foundations, and governments kept history alive by contributing a total of $2,094,605 to Canada's History Society. We sincerely thank all supporters. Gifts of $100 or more have been recognized in this honour roll.

VISIONARIES $100,000+

Hudson's Bay Company History Foundation
The Molson Foundation
Northpine Foundation
The Wilson Foundation

COMPANIONS $50,000 - $99,999

Dorothy Hollingsworth in memory of her husband William Nobleman*
The Winnipeg Foundation*
- George and Tannis Richardson Fund *
- The Nobleman Scholar's Fund
- Canada's History Fund

GOVERNORS $10,000 - $49,999

Bill & Judy Caulfeild-Browne*
Tony & Shari Fell*
Jackman Foundation*
Greg Latremoille
Bruce MacLellan & Karen Girling
Power Corporation of Canada*
Michael & Barbara Rea*
James Richardson & Sons, Limited*
H Sanford & Deborah Riley

OFFICERS $5,000 - $9,999

In honour of Mark S Bonham
DAAT Charitable Foundation
Helen Edwards*
Tom Kierans & Mary Janigan*
Phil Lind*
The Margaret Ann & Donald S McGiverin Foundation
Gwyn Morgan & Patricia Trottier*
The North West Company*
Richard W Pound*
David Ross & Audrey Loeb*
Diane Stampfler*
TC Transcontinental Printing*
Steve Thomas - in memory of Margaret Laurence and Clara McCandless Thomas*
C J Winn*

VOYAGEURS $1,000 - $4,999

E James Arnett
The Asper Foundation*
J W Asselstine
James C Baillie
Marilyn and Charles Baillie Family Foundation*
J Douglas Barrington *
John Blachford*
Janet E Bush
John & Pattie Cleghorn and Family*
Tim Cook
Honor Bonnycastle de Pencier* & Michael de Pencier*
Paul Gibbons*
Charlotte Gray & George Anderson
Ann & Brian C Grose*
D Jordan
Michèle Leduc*
Mark Leonard*
Joe Martin*
Sharon McAuley*
Don Newman & Shannon Day-Newman*
Dave Obee
Doug Paterson
Victor Rabinovitch & Miriam Bloom*
Barbara Ritchie
Ian Robinson
Stikeman Elliott
Timothy Thompson
Manon Vennat*
Janet Walker*
Melony Ward & Kevin Weiss*
Michael & Cheryl Williams*
Winnipeg Goldeyes Field of Dreams
Wongs Association of Ontario
3 Anonymous Donors

EXPLORERS $500 - $999

Marina Barnstijn
Joost Blom
K H Brown
Wesley Campbell
Fred W Catterall
Danielle Chartier & Clay Vandel*
Lindsay DuVal & Scott Sutherland*
C Fraser Elliott*
R M Farewell
Martin & Judith Farnsworth
David B Flemming
Former Governor, Hudson's Bay Company*
Scott M Hand*
Doug & Margaret Hatlelid*
John Hofer
Charles & Cynthia Hou*
Ernest Howard*
Charles Huband*
Judith Hudson Beattie*
Paul Jones*
Alison Taylor Love
Gary Lukassen*
D George MacIntosh
Gillian MacKay Graham in memory of Alice & Douglas MacKay*
John Maher
Roberta McAlpine
Ian McIlreath
Dr Cheryl Susan McWatters*
Patricia & Gerald O'Brien
Lou & Judy Probst
The Prolific Group*
Mark C Reid*
Donna Runnalls
Robert E Russell
Craig Smith
Deirdre Stevenson
Andrew Stewart
Rodney Swarek
Martha Wilder
Lois Williams
Greg K W Wong*
1 Anonymous Donor

NAVIGATORS $250 - $499

Robert J Abelson
Charles Beer
Paul Beeston
Scott McLean Bennie
Jim Bowie
Stephen Bowman
Colleen Brock
John Brockway
John Calvert
Susan Carter
Harold Chmara
William Elderkin
George Emiry
George Fallis
Patricia Gerow
Marilyn & David Gourley
Carol Graham
Barbara Gregory
Laurie Gail Hammond
In memory of Wesley G Hatlelid
Harriet Healy
Don Heath
Tony Hendrie
Alistair Hensler
Jan W Jansen
J Peter Jonkman
Geoffrey P Joyner
Dr Elaine Keillor CM
David W Kerr
Carolyn & Fred King
Steve Koerner
Walter & Gwenyth Kozar
Brian Lagimodiere
Lorne Larson
Bill Leithead
Keith MacLellan
David Marriott
Lorna Marsden
Andrew Martin
John & Nancy Matthews
I McDorman
Anson R McKim
Peter Milliken
Deborah Morrison
Ralph & Gail Palmer
George E Patton
Everett Paynter
Ed Peppler
Dorothy Phillips
Sonja Sanguinetti
Jane M Sather
A Scorgie
Francois Senecal-Tremblay
Bill Siksay
Mary Sills
Karen Sinclair
Eric W Slavens
Gordon Smith
Della M Stanley
Beverley Stewart
Nancy & George Taylor
Geraldine Thompson
R S Trimbee
Clementine Van Veen
Brian Wadsworth
David J Westfall
Gerald White
A & R Wild
W Verne Williams
Barry Wilson
Brock Winterton & Family
9 Anonymous Donors

PATHFINDERS $100 - $249

John Abraham
Kim Adair
Stephen N Adams QC
Mary Alexander
Martha Allen
Helen Alsop
Ronald Andersen
Lise Andres
Kenneth Armson
Phyllis Arnold
Michele Ashby
Dolores Ast
Eric & Karen Auzins
Tina Babij
Ken Baker
Linda & Mitch Banks
Alan Barnes
Karen & Bill Barnett
Robert C Barnett
Aline Barrette
Alice Baumgart
Cynthia Baxter
Armand Beaudoin
Judith Beaulac
Fred W Beck
Dr Bernice Bell
Milton R Best
Toronto Foundation - Lynn Bevan Fund
Diane Biehl
Ed H Bieker
Gerrit Bilkes
Carolyn J Bird
Lynda Black
Edward D Bobb
William Stuart Bonney
Clare Booker
Larry & Beth Boone
Denise Boulanger
Iva E Braham
Elise Brais
Francois Bregha
Beverley Brennan
Michelle Brisebois Pellicer
Dr Robin Brooks-Hill
Peter Broughton
Robert D Brown
Suzanne Brown
Brunansky-Foster Lake Lodge
V L Brunka
Ernest Bruton
C Buchanan
Eugene D Burles
Lloyd Burnham
Laurance H Buskard
John Butcher
John Butler
Edward F Cairns
G Cairns
Glenn Cantello
Patricia Carfra
E D Cargill
Janice & Donald Carlisle
Paul Carroll
Jim Carruthers
John P Case
Rogur Cathcart Sr
Christopher Chance
David Chapman
Roland N Chartrand
B Ciarallo
Michael John Clague
Donald Clarke
Philip R Clarke
Laurence Clayton
Sally Cogswell
Garry Comber
Jim Connor
Margaret Conrad
Kenneth Cox
Ian K Crain
Edward Crighton
J Crossley
Robert Crouse
Stacy Dainard & Jennifer Rattray

D & J Dalgleish
Kerry Dangerfield
Robert Darling
B H Davidson MD
Bryan M Davies
Barbara Davis
Lonny Dereski
Aileen Desbarats
Joan Dickenson
P Dingle
Maureen Dolyniuk
Sidney T Down
Kim Drury
Robert Du Laux
Marion Dubuc
George Duddy
John Dumesnil
Martin Eady
Donna Easto
John & Martha Edmond
Herb Egloff
Marilyn Elliott
Susan Ellwood
Robert Elsworthy
Michael Ensley
J P Evans
James J Fairfield
John Fargey
Graham Farquharson
Thomas Farrell
Glenn Ferguson
Joyce Ferguson
M Field
Norman & Diana Field
K Findlay
Ross Forrest
Malcolm Foy
John Francis
Elizabeth Garven
Catherine Garvey
Bill Genn
Jane Gibson
Barbara Gilbert
F Ian Gilchrist
In memory of John Gillett
Larry A Glassford
Dorothy Gloutney
In memory of Emily J Goodman
Donald W Goodridge
John Goodwin
Ruth Gover
J & S Grace
Alexandra Graham
John Grainger
Peter R Grant
Nairne Gray
Rod Green
Harvey Grossman
Richard Grubb
J & R Gurman
Lynda Guy
I C Hain
David Halkett
John Hall
Hugh Hamilton
Charles Handcock
N M Hannon
Gil Hardy & Pegeen Walsh
Paul Harker
Carl Harvey
John Hawkins
James Hay
Laryssa Hayward
Sholto Hebenton
Laurie Hellens
John E Henderson
James Hersey
Harold Hetherington
Brian Heurter
Carolyn Hines
June M Hodge
Elane Hoggett
F W Hooper
Norman Hopland
Jonathan Horlick
M P Horne
C Stuart Houston
Garth C Huffman
Alan Hughes
Louise Humeniuk
Lanson & Karen Hunt
Michael Hunter
C Hutchenreuther & S Huchcroft
Grace Hyam
Allison Irvine
John Iwanic
Jerry & Michele Iwanus
Reverend E Jackman
Doug Jackson
A Jelinski
Claire Jewers
Marilyn Job
Andrew Johnson
Robert Johnston
Marilyn Joseph
James Junod
Erma Jury
Lorène Kayser
John & Jane Kean
Mary Kellam
H Allan Kerr
Liz Kerr
Donald Kidd
David Kindrachuk
Jamie & Shelley Kropf
Doreen Lak
Yvon D Lapierre
John Larcombe
Lorrie Lefebvre
Linda M Legeyt
R J Lemon
In honour of Tom Longboat
Barbara Lopatriello
Daphne Loukidelis
Carla Lyon
Alan Macdonald
W MacDonald
Brenda M MacIsaac
Joan F MacKenzie
Duncan L MacLennan
R Stewart MacNeish
John Magee
Marion E Magee
P Marchand
Lauren Marshall
Dawn Martens
Paul A Mast
David Matchett
Dr Kenneth McBey
Ian A C McCallum
Peter C McCarthy
Leonard McClelland
Doug McEwen
John D McFadyen
Bruce & Karen McGrath
Mike McKeever
James McKerchar
R McLean
Norman McLeod
Don McVicar
Susan Taylor Meehan
Margaret Melnichuk
Terrence J Metcalfe
W A Mialkowski
Derry Millar
Keith Miller
Rob Milne
Lorelie Mitchell
William R Mitchell
Mr & Mrs David Mitten
Elinor Montgomery
Alan Moon
Helen Moore
George & Vivian Morgan
D J Morin
Gabriella Moro
Janet Morris
Charles & Caroline Moss
Claire Mowat
Thom Mowry
David Muir
Larry Muller
Jeffrey Murray
Sarah Ditchburn Neal
James Neilson
Greg Newman
Garry Nicol
Jayeson Nicols
John Nightingale
Ken Novakowski
Andre Nowakowski
Penny Numbers
Edward Oakes
Esther S Ondrack
Ontario Feisters
Neil Orford in memory of Emily J (Peg) Goodman
Ron Ostrum
Leonard Owen
Wilson & Wilma Parasiuk
In honour of John Parker
Sheila F Parker
Gordon Patterson
Peter Payan
Nancy Payne
Eugenie M Pelletier
A Pepin
Jean-Marc Perron
E C Peter
Joan Philpott
Dedicated to Rt Hon J W Pickersgill
A Pinchin
Heather Poliquin
L A Prendergast
Maurice Prevost
Dan Prysunka
Janet Purchase
Susan Purdy
Bob Quilliams
Mikal Radford
Joan Raekelboom
Duncan P Read
Sally Reardon
Craig Reid
Dennis Reid
Ellen Reid
Ron Richardson
LCdr S Richardson
Nancy Riley
Terry Robert
Scott Robertson
Jean-Claude Robillard
Anne Robinson
Sandy & Judy Robinson
Gary Rogers
Bev Rook
Percy Rosamond
Marion Ross
John Rowen
David & Patricia Rudan
Jane Rumble
Nevi Rusich
Charles J Russell
Sue Russell
Joan K Ruttan
G D Bud Salloum
Sterling Sanderman
Harvey B Sarnat
Robert & Kathleen Saunders
N A Scholer
John & Donna Schwartzburg
Clifton & Maureen Scott
J E Michel Scott
Kim Lachaine & Michael Scott
Richard Scott
Douglas Selley
Errol W (Ted) Semple
Betty Ann Sherwood
John & Marilyn Simmons
Tom A Skinner
Michael Slawny
Bill Sloan
L Sloane
Jim M Smith
K H Smith
Tom W Smith
William B Smith, CD2
Margaret Southern
Winifred M J Southey
Tom Spence
James N Stanley
E Stewart
Lorne Strachan
John Stubbington
Joanne R Sutherland
David E F Taylor
Keith Taylor
Lee Taylor
Susan A Thompson
Doreen Thorlacius
Wayne Todd
Bryan Trothen
W A Tweed
Robert Tyler
R H Uchtmann
David Unger
Tom Van Guekenhout
Sandra Walker in memory of David Clemenger Kerr
Duane F Waltenbery
C Malcolm Warner
Janet E Watts
David Webster
S Weedon
Leslie Weir
Shayron Weir
Anneli West
Mr & Mrs B E Wheeler
Patricia Wheeler
Carol & Richard White
A Williams
Brian Wilson
Stephen Wilson
James Winkel
Bruce Wisbey
Anthony Roy Wood
Keith J Wylie
Donald & Betty Young
Evelyn Young
Sherman Zavitz
Stephen Zurbrigg
77 Anonymous Donors

**Patrons and Supporters of the Editor's Circle*

WITH APPRECIATION TO THOSE WHO SUPPORT OUR PUBLISHING AND EDUCATION & OUTREACH PROGRAMS INCLUDING THE EVENTS CONNECTED TO THE GOVERNOR GENERAL'S HISTORY AWARDS.

Canada

POWER CORPORATION OF CANADA

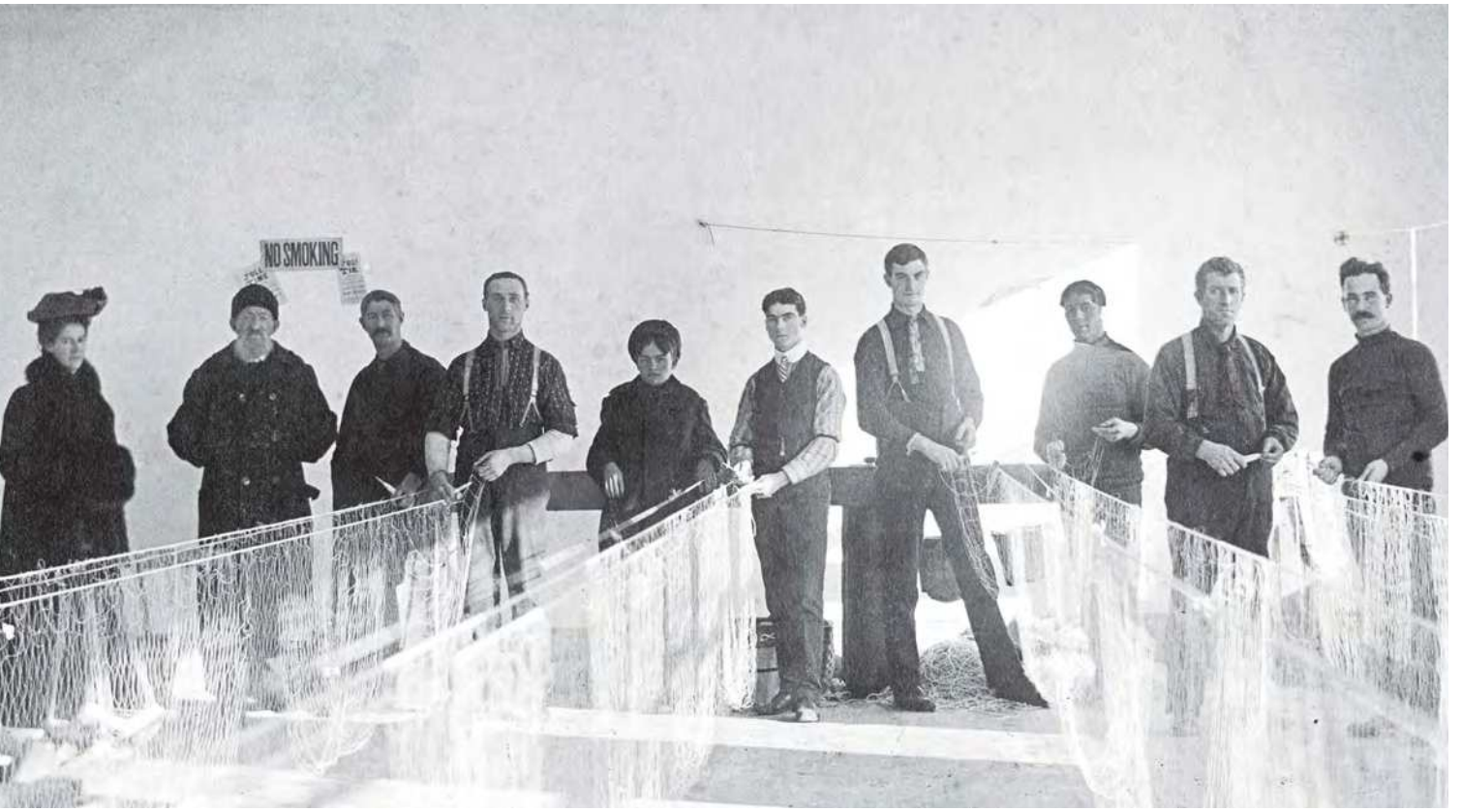
Manitoba

JOIN OUR LEGACY GIVING CIRCLE

The moment you leave a gift to Canada's History Society in your will, you become a member of the Legacy Giving Circle — a national community of generous, loving, and passionate Canadians who are inspired to keep Canada's history alive for generations to come.

Interested in learning more? Call or email **Olya Vrublevsky** at **1-844-852-7377 x 217 / ovrublevsky@canadashistory.ca**

CANADA'S HISTORY



Ready for the catch

This circa-1903 photograph shows people assembled in a fish shanty at Wiarton, Ontario. Captain John Angus Macaulay (fourth from the left) was my grandfather. He and his crew lived in Southampton, Ontario, a scenic fishing-industry hub and tourist destination on Lake Huron, where they fished in the warmer seasons.

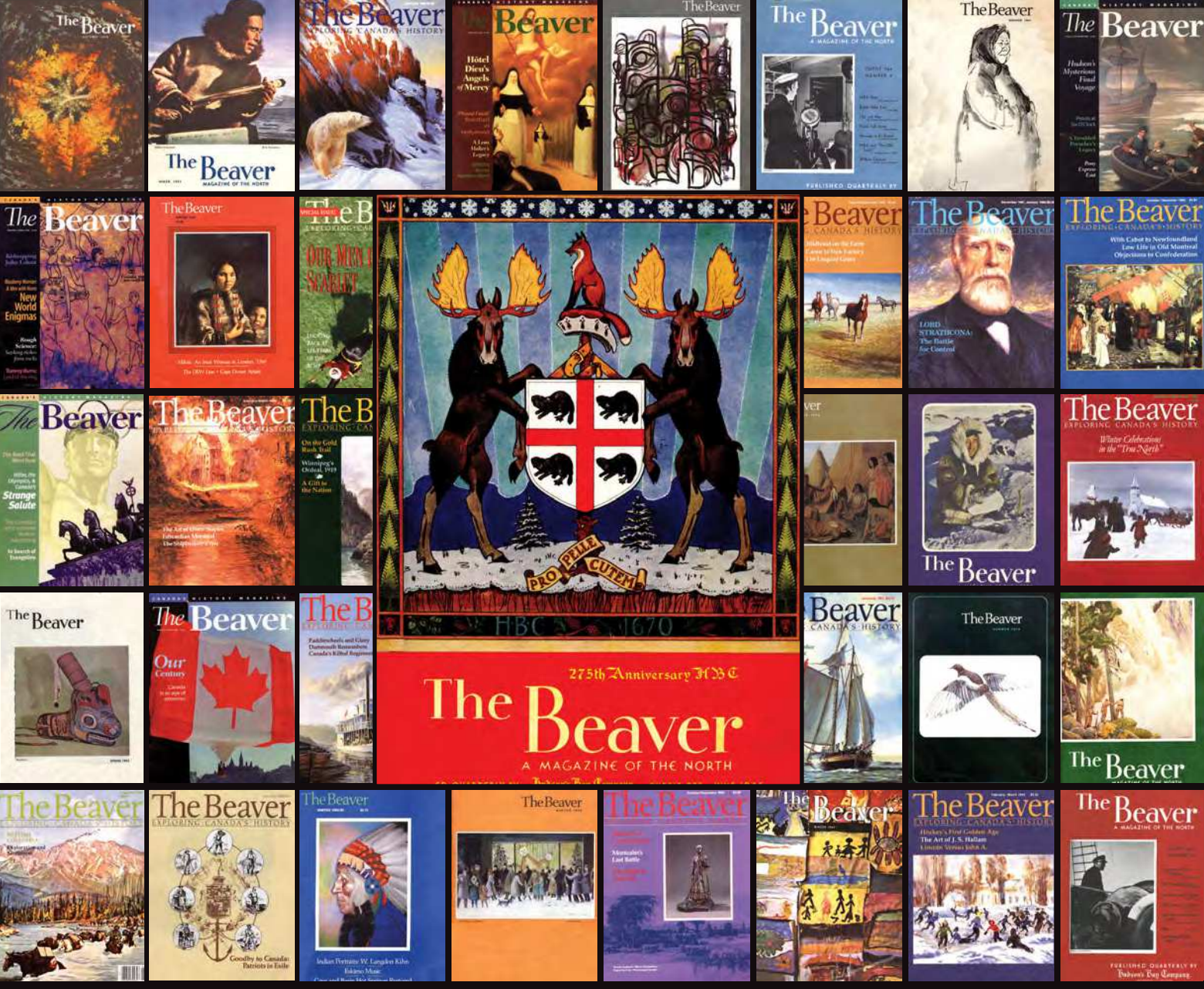
In winter, when this photograph was made, they found it more practical to fish for lake trout in Georgian Bay — which is why this net shed was located in Wiarton, on the other side of the Bruce Peninsula. (The peninsula divides the bay from the open waters of Lake Huron.)

On the reverse of the photograph, Macaulay's son Ian has identified the nets as "lake trout nets," and he has listed the names of some of the people who were present, including Margaret (Macaulay) Lane, far left; Donald Macaulay, second from left; Edgar MacDonald, sixth from left; John MacIver, seventh from left; George Neil Macaulay (Captain Macaulay's younger brother), third from right; and (possibly) Dean MacDonald, far right.

It struck me that this image conveys a nice blend of Canada's industrial, geographical, and cultural history. There are also some interesting social aspects, and there's even an element of mystery — notably, the visit to this workshop and drying shed for fishing nets by two well-dressed women.

Submitted by John Court of Toronto, grandson of John A. Macaulay and nephew of Ian M. Macaulay.

Do you have a black-and-white or colour photograph that captures a moment, important or ordinary, in Canada's history? If so, have it copied (please don't send priceless originals) and mail it to Album, c/o Canada's History, Bryce Hall, Main Floor, 515 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9. Or email your photo to album@CanadasHistory.ca. Please provide a brief description of the photo, including its date and location, details about people appearing in the photograph, and further information about the event or situation illustrated. Photos may be adjusted for presentation in the magazine.



A CENTURY OF STORYTELLING

Canada's History Archive, including *The Beaver* and *Kayak: Canada's History Magazine for Kids*, is available for your browsing pleasure.

Visit CanadasHistory.ca/Archive

CANADA'S HISTORY

OUR PAST SHAPES OUR FUTURE • NOTRE PASSÉ TRANSFORME NOTRE FUTUR •

CANADA'S HISTORY SOCIETY

The importance of understanding Canada by examining the histories of its peoples has been an anchoring belief of Canada's History Society. Established in 1994 through the generous support of the Hudson's Bay Company History Foundation, we bring relevance and awareness to our nation's diverse past, illuminating the people, places, and events that unite us as Canadians.

The society's work includes: *Canada's History* magazine, *Kayak: Canada's History Magazine for Kids*, CanadasHistory.ca, and the Governor General's History Awards.

SOCIÉTÉ HISTOIRE CANADA

L'importance de comprendre notre propre identité par le truchement de l'histoire est au cœur de la philosophie de la Société Histoire Canada. Le travail de la Société, fondée en 1994 grâce au généreux soutien de la Fondation d'histoire de la Compagnie de la baie d'Hudson, consiste à faire connaître le passé diversifié de notre pays et à l'ancrer dans le contexte actuel, mais également à mettre en valeur les gens, les lieux et les événements qui nous unissent en tant que Canadiens.

La Société offre notamment aux Canadiens le magazine *Histoire Canada*, le magazine *Kayak : Navigue dans l'histoire du Canada*, le site HistoireCanada.ca et les Prix d'histoire du Gouverneur général.

CANADA'S HISTORY · HISTOIRE CANADA · Kayak

HBC Corporate Collection. Used with permission. *Chief Trader Archibald McDonald Departing the Fraser, 1828* by Adam Sherriff Scott, ca. 1942.